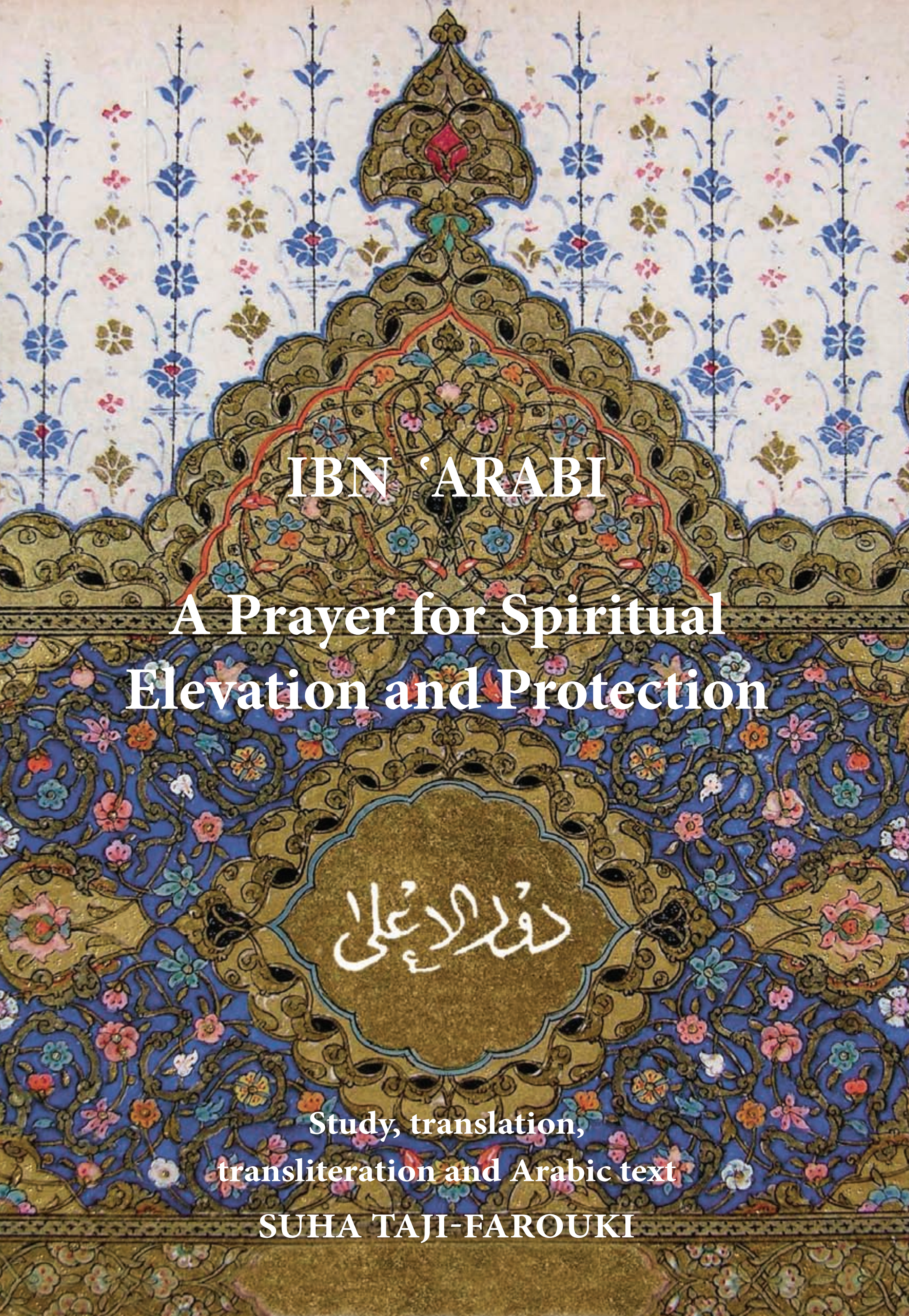



# IBN 'ARABI

# A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

**Study, translation, transliteration and Arabic text**

SUHA TAJI-FAROUKI

# A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

Muḥyiddīn Ibn ʿArabī

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*al-Dawr al-aʿlā (Ḥizb al-wiqāya)*

Study, translation, transliteration and Arabic text

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To God alone belong the Most Beautiful Names,
so call upon Him through them

Qur'an 7: 180

I take refuge in the Perfect Words of God from
the evil of that which He has created

A saying of the Prophet Muhammad

Whoever recites [this prayer] will be like the
sun and the moon among the stars

Muḥammad al-Dāmūnī,
*al-Durr al-thamīn li-sharḥ Dawr al-aʿlā li-sīdī Muḥyī al-Dīn*

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# FOREWORD

## MICHEL CHODKIEWICZ

Born in Spain and having died in Syria, like the 'blessed tree' mentioned in the 'Light' verse of the Qur'an Ibn ʿArabī (1164–1240) is 'neither of the east nor of the west', for he belongs equally to both. Recognized as the Spiritual Master *par excellence* (*al-Shaykh al-Akbar*), he has been a source of inspiration and a definitive reference-point for the Muslim mystical tradition from Andalusia to China for more than eight centuries. Christian Europe, which since the Middle Ages had passionately studied so many Arabic authors, was for a long time unaware of him. It had to wait until the end of the nineteenth century before it began to discover some of the hundreds of works he has left us, and even then this interest was at first limited to narrow circles of Orientalists.

In contrast, the last few decades of the twentieth century have seen a sudden increase in the number of translations, critical editions, studies and commentaries on his works. Even more surprisingly, their audience has gradually extended to encompass readers who, a priori, have felt no particular attraction to Islamic culture, and indeed appeared to have no reason to be interested in writings of such intimidating depth. Undoubtedly, such readers felt that an academic approach which focused on the doctrinal authority Ibn ʿArabī has exercised over sufism took into account only one aspect of the man. As an eminent figure of sainthood the *Shaykh al-Akbar* is thus not only a *Lesemeister*: he is also – and even more so, a *Lebemeister*, since he teaches us not only how to think, but how to live.

Witness, for example, the care he has shown in the five hundred and sixtieth (and final) chapter of his *Meccan Revelations* (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkīya*). Here, at the end of thousands of pages, where a vertiginous metaphysics is developed in a language of extreme technical

precision, he gathers together, using very simple words, the rules of conduct from which, he tells us, both the wayfarer (*al-sālik*) and the one who has arrived at his destination (*al-wāṣil*) may benefit. For him – and for every spiritual master worthy of the name – the knowledge of the saints must take hold of the whole person. It is not addressed to the intellect alone.

It is for this very reason too that, within the immense Akbarian corpus, one finds alongside numerous scholarly treatises some quite short texts, which at first sight seem to fall within the domain of simple devotional literature. Yet the reality is utterly different. These prayers (*ṣalawāt*, *aḥzāb*, *awrād*), transmitted from master to disciple, are much more than pious litanies. They are inspired invocations, each structured around a series of Divine Names. Every Name conceals secrets and powers that are its own: it must arise at a precise moment in the recitation in order for it to be effective. Such effectiveness is not magic, however. It presupposes that certain conditions are satisfied, the most important of which is purity of intention. In addition, the diversity of these forms of prayer and the modes of their use – whether regularly or occasionally, at a particular time or not, recited alone or in groups etc. – reflect the variety of individual or collective situations, and of interior dispositions.

It is one of these prayers, *al-Dawr al-aʿlā* (known also as the *Ḥizb al-wiqāya*), which can be found at the centre of the little book before you. At the centre, for it is surrounded by much precious information. Suha Taji-Farouki does not limit herself simply to establishing the text with rigorous exactitude, and providing a translation and transliteration of it. Combining a meticulous examination of written sources with patient fieldwork, she tells for the first time the long history of this prayer, identifying each of the personalities in the chains of transmission. Based upon many testimonies and from her own observations, she shows above all that the practice of the *Dawr* lives on today in very diverse milieux. With as much knowledge as empathy, she thus demonstrates the continuing currency of Ibn ʿArabī's teaching.

*Paris*, *2006*

# Introduction

There is a growing body of critical editions, translations and analyses of the works of Ibn ʿArabī, yet relatively little attention has been paid to dimensions of his corpus of a more specifically liturgical or devotional character.[1] The most extensive collection of prayers attributed to him arises in the major compilation of Sunni devotional texts by the Naqshbandi–Khalidi Ahmed Ziya'üddin Gümüşhanevi (d.1894), known by the title *Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb*.[2] While a few of these prayers have since been published and some such publications claim, if implicitly, to present critical editions, editors often provide scant (or no) information concerning the manuscripts on which they have drawn,[3] and it is consequently difficult in some cases to be certain of their origin or precision. A critical compilation/edition of all these prayers, that rationalises titles and texts, addresses questions of attribution and explores the accompanying commentary tradition, is still to be produced.

As a modest contribution to this end (and taking into account the relatively few studies of Muslim and sufi prayer and prayer texts more generally), this study focuses on a single small prayer which has as its full title *al-Dawr al-aʿlā al-muqarrib ilā kulli maqām al-aʿlā* (The Most Elevated Cycle that brings one close to Every Station of The Most High), often contracted to *al-Dawr al-aʿlā* (The Most Elevated Cycle) or *Dawr al-aʿlā* (The Cycle of The Most High): it is also known as *Ḥizb al-wiqāya* (The Prayer of Protection).[4] As in the case of other prayers attributed to him, this does not appear in Ibn ʿArabī's bibliographic records (the *fihris* and *ijāza*) and is not mentioned in any of his works. Yet as one contemporary sufi shaykh and specialist in his thought has put it, 'there is a consensus among the people of the Way of God [*ahl ṭarīq Allāh*] concerning its attribution to the Shaykh al-Akbar.'[5] A clear majority of the substantial number of manuscript copies surveyed for this study explicitly attribute the

prayer to Ibn ʿArabī either in the title or through a chain of transmission. Of those that do not make such an attribution, none attribute it to any other author. Given this and evidence of its widespread circulation and use both past and present, it represents an important element in any project to delimit and clarify the specifically liturgical dimension of Ibn ʿArabī's corpus.

This study examines three major aspects of the prayer. Chapter 1 explores its contemporary life, providing an indication of its circulation and use through examples from different arenas. Chapter 2 focuses on historical dimensions based on manuscript copies spanning the last four centuries, exploring facets of the presentation and transmission of the prayer. Chapter 3 examines perceptions of the prayer's properties and recommendations concerning its use. The discussion touches on aspects of its composition and the interplay within it between invocations of Divine Names, specific supplications and Qur'anic quotations. This chapter also provides a translation of the prayer, an Arabic text resulting from a considered evaluation of copies reviewed, and a transliteration. Finally, an Appendix sets out details of manuscript copies and chains of transmission discussed.

# *Notes*

**1.** Two exceptions can be mentioned. (a) Ryad Atlagh, 'L'Oraison de personne, donation et noms divins chez Ibn ʿArabī (À propos de *Daʿwat asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* attribuée à Ibn ʿArabī)', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* LI (1999), pp. 41–107 provides a critical edition and discussion of the prayer mentioned in the title, with a lengthy treatment of Ibn ʿArabī's position concerning prayer in general, and the place of the Divine Names in this. (b) Ibn ʿArabī, *The Seven Days of the Heart: Prayers for the Days and Nights of the Week (Awrād al-usbūʿ)*, tr. Pablo Beneito and Stephen Hirtenstein (Oxford, 2000) provides a detailed discussion of the daily/nightly prayers for the week and a translation based on a critical edition still to be published. Throughout the present study, these daily/nightly prayers for the week attributed to Ibn ʿArabī are referred to as *Awrād*.

**2.** See Ahmed Ziya'üddin Gümüşhanevi, *Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb* (Istanbul, n.d.), 3 volumes: 1, pp. 2–83.

**3.** For example, *Majmūʿ ṣalawāt wa awrād sīdī Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī raḍiya Al-lāhu ʿanhu*, compiled by Muhammad Ibrahim Muhammad Salim (n.p., 2000) encompasses a group of *ṣalawāt* (prayers upon the Prophet) and the *Awrād*. Salim is author of *Ta'yīd al-ṣūfīya fī'l-majmūʿa al-Ḥātimīya*, where he also presents some of these prayers.

**4.** On the term *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), which has come to be applied to any single group of supererogatory liturgical formulae, and its relation to *wird* (with which it is often interchangeable: for example I {see Appendix}, fol. 62b refers to *al-wird al-musammā bi'l-dawr al-aʿlā* [The *wird* called…']; in Genel 43, fol. 29b, the text of the prayer is headed thus: *hādhihi al-awrād al-musammā bi'l-dawr al-aʿlā* ['These are the *awrād* that are called…']), see Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (Oxford, 1996/1961), pp. 20–25; 'Hizb', EI², 3, pp. 513–514; 'Wird', EI², 11, pp. 209–210. On these and other terms commonly applied to liturgical texts (such as *duʿāʾ* and *ḥirz*), see also Richard J. A. McGregor, 'A Sufi Legacy in Tunis: Prayer and the Shadhiliyya', *IJMES* 29 (1997), pp. 263–267; 'Duʿaʾ', EI², 2, pp. 617–618; below.

The term *dawr* (pl. *adwār*), signifying a turn or revolution, does not appear to be as widely used as *ḥizb/wird*: indeed, no other case of its use is known to the present author. In our sources the term *dawr* is applied both to our prayer as a whole, and to its individual verses. Thus some copies (e.g. K) describe each of the prayer's individual verses as a *dawr*, marking them in order as *al-dawr al-awwal*, *al-dawr al-thānī*, etc. D, pp. 6–7 elaborates on the significance of the term in the prayer's name thus: 'This prayer has been called *al-Dawr al-aʿlā* because…it turns upon (*yadūru ʿalā*) the Name of God the Ever-Exalted, from Whom all things begin and to Whom is their end… and because its secrets circulate with (*tadūru maʿa*) the one who reads it day and night, in secret and in public, awake and asleep, in good health and sickness, in hard times

and good, in this life, the hereafter and the *barzakh*…[It is] "the most elevated" *dawr* because of the abundant help and secrets it contains…' The attempt by McGregor, 'A Sufi Legacy in Tunis', p. 266 to apply to the prayer an understanding of the term *dawr* derived from usage in the context of religious celebrations in contemporary Egypt, where it denotes a vocal piece drawn from colloquial poetry and involving a choral refrain, is unsustainable. Finally, it is notable that Yazma Bağişlar 2934, fol. 39b, describes the prayer as *Ḥizb al-dawr al-aʿlā*.

On the relative scholarly neglect of sufi prayer texts and recitation, see for example McGregor, 'A Sufi Legacy in Tunis', p. 255. It is remarkable that no follow-up study to Padwick's classic work has yet been attempted.

**5.** Mahmud Mahmud al-Ghurab, *al-Ṭarīq ilā Allāh: al-shaykh wa'l-murīd min kalām al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (Damascus, 1991), p. 194 n. 1.

# 1

# THE *DAWR* TODAY

## *Contemporary contexts*

Like all liturgical texts originating with sufi figures, the *Dawr al-aʿlā* effectively has a double life in the modern world. One of these, a continuation of its traditional past, is hidden, mediated through spiritual authority to permit its use exercised by the sufi shaykh to his disciple (*murīd*) typically in the context of a sufi order or *ṭarīqa* affiliation, and symbolised by the granting of a special authorisation (*ijāza*). The other is visible, open and public, a destiny arising out of the shattering of traditional systems and modes in the acquisition and transmission of religious knowledge in Muslim societies, and driven by the impacts of print and other modern information technologies alongside mass literacy.[1] The following examples illustrate this double life, and at the same time convey something of the diversity of contemporary users of the prayer. In general terms, while it appears in some of the many collections of prayers readily available across the Muslim world today, the *Dawr* is not as well known as other, comparable, prayers.[2]

## *Damascus*

The prayer is recited collectively during certain of the open weekly gatherings devoted to calling down prayers and blessings upon the Prophet (*majālis al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī*[3]) held at the mosque adjacent to Ibn ʿArabī's mausoleum in the Shaykh Muhyi'l-Din neighbourhood, the Salihiyya district, Damascus. During 2003, for example, it was read collectively at two of the eight *majālis* scheduled each week. One

was established quite recently and is held between noon (*ẓuhr*) and afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayers on Friday:[4] the other, which takes place before dawn (*fajr*) prayers on Saturday, is long-standing.[5] The text of the prayer is available in the form of a photocopied sheet stored in the imams' room in the mosque, from where it is occasionally distributed. It also appears for distribution from time to time in the form of a small pamphlet, often printed together with a hadith or Qur'anic verses.[6] In addition, some of the larger pamphlets printed specifically for use in various *majālis* (and effectively the property of those *majālis*) encompass the prayer.[7] Reaching a wider circulation, it appears in a popular collection of prayers compiled by former Mufti of Syria Muḥammad Abū'l-Yusr ʿĀbidīn (d.1981) and published by his heirs,[8] and in a more recent collection distributed free, published as a joint venture between Turkish and Syrian publishers.[9] It can also be found on the margin of editions of al-Jazūlī's popular Sunni prayer manual *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* that circulate in Damascus.[10] Finally, it is presented in one of the many privately published works of an Egyptian sufi shaykh and interpreter–disseminator of Ibn ʿArabī's thought long settled in Damascus, Maḥmūd al-Ghurāb.[11]

The prayer is thus easily accessible to people of all backgrounds in Damascus. At the same time, in some circles there traditional sufi modes of transmission continue. The *ijāza* in this context is understood to unlock the prayer's secrets for the *murīd* in a way that protects him from potential harm: it also ensures that these secrets remain the preserve of those suitably prepared to receive them. The *ijāza* often encompasses an instruction concerning the time and frequency of recitation. It may require the *murīd* to situate the prayer, whenever they recite it, within a cluster of other prayers and formulae, or involve making precise additions at certain points in the text. Specific to each *murīd*, such prescriptions are not arbitrary, and may indeed have been received by the shaykh in a dream or vision. Tailored to the *murīd*'s level, they may be changed as he advances on the spiritual journey.

The vitality of this mode of transmission can be illustrated through the practice of Aḥmad al-Ḥārūn (d.1962), widely recognised

in Damascene sufi circles as an important saint, and his prominent disciples.[12] For example, al-Ḥārūn granted an *ijāza* to his disciple Maḥmūd al-Ghurāb to read the prayer once every thirty-six hours (this *ijāza* also encompassed the *Awrād*, Ibn ʿArabī's daily prayers).[13] He gave an *ijāza* to his disciple Mamdūḥ al-Naṣṣ to read it once every twenty-four hours (again, in addition to the *Awrād*). Al-Naṣṣ in turn gave his son Muḥammad Sāmir an *ijāza* to read the prayer daily, this time preceded by al-Nawawī's *Ḥizb* and followed by recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the souls of the Prophet, Ibn ʿArabī and al-Ḥārūn.[14]

Such instructions for reading the prayer sometimes migrate out of the sphere of esoteric transmission to accompany printed copies, thereby becoming available for general application. For example, ʿĀbidīn prefaces the prayer with a note explaining that his grandfather had received a direct instruction from Ibn ʿArabī (through a *karāma* or act of spiritual grace granted the two of them) to read it twice daily, once following the morning (*ṣubḥ*) prayer and again after the sunset one (*maghrib*). In the case of a specific matter of importance, Ibn ʿArabī had instructed him to read it three times following the afternoon prayer.[15] ʿĀbidīn also provides detailed instructions concerning what must be recited before and after the prayer.[16]

From the ulama to the illiterate, conviction of the prayer's potency is widespread in Damascene sufi circles and among Ibn ʿArabī's local devotees, who attach themselves to his mosque.[17] One such devotee attributes this potency to the fact that the prayer encompasses many Divine Names, another to its special quality as the summation of all of Ibn ʿArabī's teachings, indeed 'the essence of his entire knowledge.' Devotees believe that if the prayer is recited with right intention, absolute certainty of its power and the aim of pleasing God while repudiating the pull of this world, it can draw the reciter into the Prophet's presence (*al-ḥaḍra al-Muḥammadīya*): the Prophet then appears to them 'through Ibn ʿArabī', especially in dreams. Drawing on their personal experiences, some point out that whoever reads the prayer with sincerity of heart and utter conviction while making a specific plea will have their wish granted. They relate how they read

it with the intention of seeking help in relation to concrete problems, and are always confident of a positive response. For example, one devotee tells how when he recites the prayer with this specific request in mind, Ibn ʿArabī appears to him in dreams and shows him how to solve practical problems at work that require technical knowledge in which he has no training. Whenever he is guided to solve a work problem in this way, he refuses payment for the job, for he attributes his success in it to Ibn ʿArabī's *baraka* or blessing, through the prayer, rather than his own effort. He relates with gratitude how he has developed a new career and improved his family's material circumstances through the help granted him in response to requests mediated through the prayer.

## *Istanbul*

The earliest printed versions of the prayer appeared in Istanbul during the late 19th century, in Gümüşhanevi's *Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb*[18] and the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*,[19] for example. The first modern Turkish transliteration of the prayer was published in 1998 by a publishing company owned by a devotee of Ibn ʿArabī. This small booklet also provides the Arabic text and a clarification of the prayer's meanings in Turkish.[20] By 2004, more than thirty thousand copies had been printed, distributed free throughout Turkey in response to internet requests, via bookshops, in mail-shots, etc. It is reprinted every few months to meet demand, and people of all kinds order and read it, including many who are outwardly 'çok-modern'.

While the prayer thus circulates openly in print, it is also still transmitted through *ijāza* granting in 'hidden' sufi circles in Istanbul. For example the Naqshbandi Shaykh Ahmed Yivlik (d.2001) granted *ijāza*s to read the prayer to certain of his own disciples and to other sufis in Istanbul.[21] For some his instruction was to read it twice a day, in certain cases following the *Awrād*; for others, on its own. His own *ijāza* to read the prayer is connected to a line of Naqshbandi shaykhs.[22]

# The United Kingdom

During the late 1960s, a copy of the prayer was brought to London by Bulent Rauf (d.1987), a western-educated descendant of the Ottoman elite. Rauf was the great-grandson of Ismail Pasha (d.1895), khedive of Egypt from 1863 to 1879.[23] Ismail's daughter, Rauf's maternal grandmother, was Princess Fatma Hanim (b.1850), who died some time after the end of World War I.[24] Fatma Hanim had commissioned a copy of the prayer to be made for her by the 'Head Calligrapher', apparently in AH 1341/1922–23 CE: it was bound in red leather and embellished with gold. After she died, it came into her grandson's possession.

Rauf became the pivotal figure in a new religious movement that emerged under the name 'Beshara' in the south of England during the early 1970s. In response to the requests of young counterculture seekers interested in the spirituality of 'the east', he conveyed the teaching of Ibn ʿArabī as the basis of a monistic, experiential and supra-religious spirituality. He designed courses in 'esoteric education' aiming at self-knowledge, which were eventually offered in dedicated schools established by the movement.[25] Some of the early students noticed Fatma Hanim's beautiful copy of the *Dawr* in Rauf's possession, and his printed copy of the *Awrād*. They enquired whether these prayers could be made available in transliteration. Rauf agreed and assigned two students to the task, one of whom could read Arabic. This student rendered the text into Hebrew transliteration (his native tongue), and from that into English transliteration (they had no knowledge of a transliteration system for Arabic). Rauf corrected and completed the text with diacritical marks, and it was distributed to all involved in Beshara. He did not give guidelines for its recitation, but emphasised its protective effect. This text was published in 1981 alongside the original by the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society (MIAS), which had been established during the mid-1970s by some of those involved in Beshara.[26] The inclusion of the phonetic English transliteration is specifically aimed

at the non-Arabic-speaking Beshara constituency (which today has international extent) and others unable to read the Arabic original, making it possible for them to recite the text.[27] The MIAS website suggests how the prayer can be used for the purposes of protection: 'this prayer…protects its recipient. In microfiche form, it is frequently carried as an amulet or displayed in a significant place.'[28] Many involved in Beshara wear the microfiche form in a silver encasement on a neck-chain: they also position it above the inside of a main door at home. Sometimes a framed photocopy of the first page of the prayer is displayed. Some read the prayer regularly, while others resort to it in times of difficulty or to ward off perceived evil.

# *Notes*

**1.** The modern period has witnessed the widening accessibility of sufi resources beyond the initiated and prepared, a trend that has accelerated since the late 20th century. See for example Elizabeth Sirriyeh, Sufi Thought and its Reconstruction, in Suha Taji-Farouki and Basheer M. Nafi, eds., *Islamic Thought in the Twentieth Century* (London, 2004), pp. 123–124; Garbi Schmidt, Sufi Charisma on the Internet, in David Westerlund, ed., *Sufism in Europe and North America* (London, 2004), pp. 109–126.

On the general impacts of print (and later mass education, literacy and new media) on traditional notions of religious authority and on systems for learning and transmitting religious knowledge, see for example Francis Robinson, 'Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print', *Modern Asian Studies* 27: 1 (1993), pp. 229–251; Dale F. Eickelman, The Art of Memory: Islamic Education and its Social Reproduction, in Juan I. Cole, ed., *Comparing Muslim Societies: Knowledge and the State in a World Civilization* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1992), pp. 97–132; idem, Islamic Religious Commentary and Lesson Circles: Is there a Copernican Revolution?, in G. W. Most, ed., *Commentaries {Kommentar}* (Gottingen, 1999), pp. 121–146.

While our interest here is in the contemporary situation, it should be noted that very few of the liturgical texts associated with the *ṭarīqa*s remained confined to their membership even in pre-modern times.

**2.** Padwick's survey of 'popular' prayer manuals gathered from cities across the Muslim world during the 1950s encompasses the *Dawr*, but she does not consider it among their best-known contents. In addition to the examples below, it appears in the popular prayer collection *Manbaʿ al-saʿādāt*, p. 255, published in Beirut: see McGregor, 'A Sufi Legacy in Tunis', p. 275 n. 63. Our examples do not encompass the world of Shiʿi Islam, but we would point out that the prayer appears to be less widely known and used there than in Sunni contexts.

**3.** On the *ṣalawāt* or *taṣliya*, the practice of calling down prayers and blessings upon the Prophet, see Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985), pp. 92 ff; Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 152 ff.

**4.** Held at a time when families gather at home for lunch after the Friday prayer, attendance at this *majlis* (established in 2001) is not substantial. During February 2003, the *majlis* was led by Muḥammad Amīn ʿĀshūr, a disciple of the revered Shadhili Aḥmad al-Ḥabbāl al-Rifāʿī. Beginning immediately after the end of the *khaṭīb*'s lesson, it opened with the calling down of peace and blessings upon the Prophet. A pamphlet was distributed: *Ṣalawāt ʿalā al-nabī al-karīm sayyidinā rasūl Allāh li'l-shaykh Aḥmad al-Dardayrī al-Khalwatī*. ʿĀshūr called for recitation of *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa for the soul of Ibn ʿArabī, and the assembly proceeded to recite the *Dawr*, printed in the pamphlet's last few pages, at considerable speed. On completing this, the *majlis* re-

cited *sūrat* al-Fātiḥa, a *ṣalawāt* by Aḥmad al-Dardayrī al-Khalwatī, al-Fātiḥa again, and *Manẓūmat asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā al-Dardayrīya*. A substantial amount of text was completed in forty minutes. ʿĀshūr recited al-Fātiḥa and asked those present to recite it for the benefit of certain individuals in need. He then led the *majlis* in reading *sūrat* Yā Sīn. Thereafter, the *tahlīl* (*lā ilāha illā Allāh*) was repeated. Two *majlis* 'servants' arrived with large bags of bread, which they began to distribute, marking the end of the *majlis*. ʿĀshūr continued to call down peace and blessings upon the Prophet followed by spontaneous supplication, in which he asked God to grant victory to the Muslims over those who aggress against them, to heal the sick, to forgive those who have transgressed, and to have mercy upon the dead. The congregation affirmed his emotional prayers with '*āmīn*' at each pause. Reflecting the concerns of the hour, he asked God to destroy enemy planes, to grant victory to the Palestinians, and to protect Syria, using al-Fātiḥa as an adjuration throughout. He asked God to accept the *majlis* through the standing of the prophets, their wives and mothers, and the companions and saints, 'especially those at whose doorsteps we sit – Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn, and Shaykh al-Nābulusī – through their *baraka* and *karāmāt*, achieved through Allāh Himself.' He asked God to compensate anyone who had spent towards the *majlis* and requested donations for an unnamed person in difficult circumstances.

**5.** According to one of the mosque imams, this *majlis* – set apart from all others by recitation of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's *Wird al-saḥar* (known also as *al-Fatḥ al-qudsī wa'l-kashf al-unsī*), was established over seventy years ago by the Rifaʿi Hāshim Abū Ṭawq (1847–1962). According to Muhammad Mutiʿ al-Hafiz and Nizar Abaza, *Ta'rīkh ʿulamā' Dimashq fī'l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijrī* (Damascus, 1986), 2, p. 769, Abū Ṭawq personally led recitation of *Wird al-saḥar* at the mosque every Saturday before *fajr* for forty-five years. Some local sources hold that this *majlis* was instituted by Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī himself together with ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, and suggest that it has been held there continuously since. In 1960, Abū Ṭawq handed responsibility for the *majlis* to Salīm al-ʿAmm, who had committed himself to the mosque in 1942.

Al-ʿAmm opened a *majlis* during February 2003 with recitation of al-Fātiḥa, Qur'anic verses, supplication and the *istighfār* (forgiveness) formula. A booklet was distributed: *Majmūʿ al-awrād al-kabīr: yashtamil ʿalā al-ma'thūr ʿan al-a'imma wa'l-aqṭāb min al-ṣalawāt ʿalā al-nabī wa'l-awrād wa'l-adʿiya wa'l-adhkār wa'l-aḥzāb wa'l-istighfārāt*. Al-ʿAmm led the *majlis* in reciting with great beauty *Wird al-saḥar*, with its repetitions of Divine Names and lyrical flourishes. At a transitional point, the *majlis* 'servant' distributed halva sandwiches. Al-ʿAmm launched into spontaneous, at times tearful, supplication. He called for peace upon the Prophet and his companions, ulama, *muḥaddithūn*, and all people of faith. Salams were addressed to the Prophet, referring to the fact that the *majlis* was taking place in his presence, and to Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. After further supplication, recitation of al-Fātiḥa and the calling down of blessings upon the prophet, he returned to the *wird*. Having completed it, he repeated the *tahlīl* alone, then followed each time by an emphatic 'Lord have mercy on me!' or 'Lord forgive me!' After further supplication, he led those gathered in reciting the

*Dawr al-aʿlā* at some speed. At its end, he emphasised to the *majlis* the importance of reading the *Dawr* frequently, at least once a day. With this the *majlis* ended, as the time for the dawn *adhān* approached.

**6.** For example, in 2003 it appeared in a small booklet: *al-Dawr al-aʿlā li-sīdī sulṭān al-ʿārifīn wa ʿumdat al-mukāshifīn wa zubdat al-wāṣilīn wa khātimat al-awliyāʾ al-muḥaqqiqīn*, *al-shaykh al-akbar mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī*, *raḍiya Allāh taʿālā ʿanhu wa arḍāhu*. It is prefaced by a hadith that stresses the potency of certain Qurʾanic formulae when repeated, and followed by a poem in praise of Ibn ʿArabī by local poet Aḥmad al-Zarrūq (d.1955: on him see Hafiz and Abaza, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Dimashq*, 3, pp. 257–259), another hadith (underlining the importance of avoiding the prohibited), the end of the Thursday morning prayer from the *Awrād* attributed to Ibn ʿArabī but without explicit identification of its origin, and finally a *ṣalawāt* by Aḥmad al-Badawī.

**7.** For example, in the two pamphlets mentioned in notes 5–6 above, on pp. 185–193 of *Majmūʿ al-awrād al-kabīr*. The pamphlet *Ṣalawāt ʿalā al-nabī al-karīm sayyidinā rasūl Allāh li'l-shaykh Aḥmad al-Dardayrī al-Khalwatī* begins with an open permission to read the *ṣalawāt* of al-Dardayrī (tracing back his Khalwati initiation to Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and then Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī). The *ṣalawāt* is followed by *sūrat* Yā Sīn, the *Dawr* and additional *ṣalawāt*. Pamphlets such as these two carry a statement that they are a *waqf* of the *majlis*.

**8.** *Al-Awrād al-dāʾima maʿa al-ṣalawāt al-qāʾima*, collected and arranged by Muhammad Abu'l-Yusr ʿAbidin, ed. shaykh Bashir al-Bari, former Mufti of Damascus, 4th edn. (Damascus, 1991), pp. 38–45. On ʿAbidin, see Hafiz and Abaza, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Dimashq*, 2, pp. 968–973. According to sources in Damascus who knew him, he advised people to read some of Ibn ʿArabī' writings daily, suggesting specifically *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*.

**9.** *Awrād usbūʿīya li'l-shaykh al-ʿārif Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī* (Istanbul and Damascus, n.d.), pp. 60–66, published by Kitsan (Istanbul) and Dar al-Bayruti (Damascus). On Kitsan and for further details concerning the genesis of this publication, see below.

**10.** For example, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī, *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt wa yalīhi qaṣīdat al-burda wa qaṣīdat al-munfarija [wa bi-hāmishihi majmūʿat al-awrād wa'l-aḥzāb wa'l-adʿiya wa'l-istighāthāt]*, intro., Salah al-Din Abu'l-Jihad Nakahmayy (Aleppo, 1420), on the margin of pp. 241–251: it is among a collection of prayers independent of the *Dalāʾil*, added to the text when it was first printed.

**11.** Al-Ghurab, *al-Ṭarīq ilā Allāh*, pp. 194–197. Although al-Ghurāb suggests that this is a critical edition he does not indicate which or how many manuscripts he used and gives very few variants. (He also presents a critical edition of the *Awrād*, for which he again provides little detail on the manuscript base used. See pp. 173–193.) Born in Tanta in 1922, al-Ghurāb settled in Damascus during the 1950s: on him see further below. For a partial list of his publications, see Ahmad b. Muhammad Ghunaym, *al-ʿĀrif bi'llāh al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Hārūn: sīratuhu wa karāmātuhu* (Damascus, 1992), p. 67 n. 1.

**12.** Born in al-Salihiyya, Damascus in 1900, al-Ḥārūn worked for many years as a stonemason. He acquired literacy skills late in life, and dedicated himself to studying and writing on the natural sciences and issues of faith. Widely circulating stories of his *karāmāt* centre on his ability to cure the sick. He reportedly had a very close relationship to Ibn ʿArabī (his writings include a commentary on *K. Mā lā yuʿawwal ʿalayhi*). Al-Ḥārūn's relationships with his own disciples had no particular *ṭarīqa* framework. On him see Ghunaym, *al-ʿĀrif bi'llāh al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥārūn*; Hafiz and Abaza, *Ta'rīkh ʿulamā' Dimashq*, 2, pp. 753–762; ʿIzzat Hasriya, *al-shaykh Arslān al-Dimashqī wa fīhi lamḥa ʿan al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥārūn* (n.p., 1965), pp. 163–180.

**13.** See al-Ghurab, *al-Ṭarīq ilā Allāh*, p. 194. Al-Ghurāb first encountered al-Ḥārūn in 1955 and remained with him until his death (interview with al-Ghurāb, Damascus, 2003). For the details of their relationship and perceptions of al-Ghurāb as al-Ḥārūn's *khalīfa*, see Suha Taji-Farouki, *At the Resting-place of the Seal of Saints: Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī and his Mausoleum-Mosque Complex in Contemporary Damascus* (forthcoming).

**14.** Interview with Muḥammad Sāmir al-Naṣṣ (Damascus, 2004): al-Naṣṣ is a US-trained medical doctor, presently imam in Nafidh Mosque and *fiqh* teacher at Maʿhad al-Fath. A recognised expert in the readings and recitation of the Qur'an (he teaches recitation at the Shaykh Muhyi'l-Din Mosque), he is author of *al-Wasīla ilā fahm ḥaqīqat al-tawassul* (Damascus, 2003) and *Mafhūm al-bidʿa bayna al-ḍīq wa'l-saʿa* (Damascus, 2002). On him see http://www.as-shifa.org.uk/ulum/shaykhsamir.htm and http://www.ihyafoundation.com/index.php?page=scholars#samir. Note that al-Nawawī composed a daily *wird* and *K. al-Adhkār al-yawmīya wa'l-laylīya*.

A separate example arises in the Shadhili Muḥammad al-Hāshimī al-Jazā'irī {al-Tilimsānī} (d.1961) granting an *ijāza* to read the prayer to the Rifaʿi Muḥammad al-Durra, who granted it to his son, Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Durra, presently imam at the al-Talha wa'l-Zubayr Mosque in ʿAyn Tarma on the outskirts of Damascus. Al-Durra has been active in publishing Rifaʿi texts: for example, *Miʿrāj al-wuṣūl ilā ḥaḍarāt al-riḍā wa'l-qabūl bi-tawajjuhāt sādātinā al-sāda anjāl al-marḥūm al-sayyid Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayyādī* (Damascus, 1418) (interview with al-Durra, Damascus, 2004). On al-Hāshimī, see Hafiz and Abaza, *Ta'rīkh ʿulamā' Dimashq*, 2, pp. 747–751.

**15.** *Al-Awrād al-dā'ima maʿa al-ṣalawāt al-qā'ima*, p. 38.

**16.** Ibid., pp. 38–39; 45. The supplicant must first recite al-Fātiḥa with the *basmala* four times, each with the same breath, then the first three verses of *sūrat* al-Anʿām, then a specific *ṣalawāt* formula seven times, followed by a specific prologue to the *Dawr*. After completing the *Dawr*, he must recite *sūrat* al-Inshirāḥ three times followed by another *ṣalawāt*, completing by reciting al-Fātiḥa for the Prophet and Ibn ʿArabī. Historical examples of such recommendations are detailed below.

**17.** This paragraph draws on interviews in Damascus in 2003–04.

**18.** Gümüşhanevi became attached to Abdülhamid II's court and served his regime and pan-Islamic policies. On him see Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden, 2000), p. 228; Butrus Abu-Manneh, Shaykh Ahmed Ziya'üddin Gümüşhanevi and the Ziya'i-Khalidi Sub-order, in Frederick de Jong, ed., *Shia Islam*,

*Sects and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious Practice and Methodological Considerations* (Utrecht, 1992), pp. 105–117.

**19.** For example: Reşid Efendi 1135 (AH 1288), Düğümlü Baba 500 (AH 1285), Nafiz Paşa 762 (AH 1285), Hayri Abdullah Efendi 230 (AH 1302). In the first three printings it is pp. 197–203, in the last one, pp. 193–199. In all cases, the text of the *Ḥizb* of al-Nawawī is on the margin of the *Dawr*, and it is followed by *al-qaṣīda al-munfarija*. In currency in Istanbul today is a facsimile reprint of Hayri Abdullah Efendi 230 as *Delāil-i-Hayrat: Salāvāt-i-Şerifler* (Istanbul, n.d.). Not all more recent editions of the *Dalā' il* printed in Istanbul incorporate the prayer. For example, it appears in *Delāilü'l-Hayrat ve Şevārikü'l Envār fi zikri's-salāti ale'n-nebiyyi'l-muhtār: Delāilü'l-Hayrat ve Tercümesi* (Istanbul, n.d.), pp. 288–301, but not in *Delāil'ül Hayrāt ve Şevārik'ul Envār* (Istanbul, n.d.). Both are pocket versions. The version incorporating the prayer is published (by Yasin Yayinevi) and sold within the orthodox Naqshbandi neighbourhood of Çarşamba in the Fatih district.

**20.** *Şeyh'ül Ekber Muhyiddīn Ibn'ül Arabī (K. S.) Özel Dua'si "Hizb-ud'Devr'ul A'lā": Orjinali*, *Türkçe okunuşu ve Mānāsi* (Istanbul, n.d.). The translator is Kemal Osmanbey, a Syrian of Turkish origin, his grandfather having been an official at the court of Sultan Abdülaziz who was granted lands in Syria. Resident in Istanbul since 1988, Osmanbey brought a copy of the prayer from the Shaykh Muhyi'l-Din Mosque for Remzi Göknar, owner of Kitsan publishers. They agreed that Osmanbey would translate it (possibly with the help of Göknar's wife Şukran Göknar: see below) and Kitsan would publish it. Osmanbey is a medical doctor who currently practises acupuncture. He is particularly interested in the spirit world: his publications include *Ruh Aleminde bir Seyahat* (Istanbul, 1995) and *Ḥaqā' iq ʿan tanāsukh al-arwāḥ wa'l-ḥassa al-sādisa* (Beirut, 2002). Kitsan, established by Göknar in 1980, specialises in sufi books: its publications include a few Turkish translations of works attributed to Ibn ʿArabī such as *Tuhfe'tüs Sefere* and *Mevaki'un Nücüm*. On Kitsan, see http://www.kitsan.com.

**21.** Yivlik, who worked as a civil servant, has been described by close disciples as 'a spiritual son and lover of Ibn ʿArabī'. According to one disciple, he read continuously from the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* and made frequent visits to Ibn ʿArabī's tomb in Damascus. While himself not a scholar, he has rendered at least one sufi work into modern Turkish: Selim Divane, *Miftah-u müşkilāt'il-ārifīn ādāb-u tarīki'l-vāsilīn*, tr. from Ottoman by Ahmed Sadik Yivlik (Istanbul, 1998). Yivlik led a circle of about twenty disciples in Istanbul reading translations of Ibn ʿArabī's works, including some non-Turks and illiterates. Göknar's son and wife Şukran were among his close disciples, his wife having personally funded the joint Kitsan–Dar al-Bayruti publication *Awrād usbūʿīya li'l-shaykh al-ʿārif Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī* detailed above. One thousand copies were published, the majority distributed free in Damascus in 2004, the remainder in Istanbul. Dar al-Bayruti has planned a reprint, which Kitsan has stipulated must also be distributed free. The dedication in the booklet points to the relationship between Şukran Göknar, Yivlik and Ibn ʿArabī. She writes: 'To Ahmed Sadiq Yivlik, who made known to me the Shaykh al-Akbar's

stature. May God sanctify his secret and cause him to live in His Spacious Gardens with the Shaykh al-Akbar.' Şukran Göknar has herself published a few titles with Kitsan, including *Rüya Tabirleri*. She intends to facilitate production of a Turkish version of the *Awrād*.

**22.** His shaykh ʿAli Bahjat Efendi received it from the latter's shaykh Hayrullah Efendi, who received it from his shaykh Ali Bahjat Efendi Ekber. Thanks are due to Mahmud Kiliç for this information.

**23.** A controversial figure in Egyptian history seen either as an extravagant incompetent or a far-sighted if unlucky modernizer, Ismail eventually became unpopular both at home and with the European powers, and was finally deposed by Sultan Abdülhamid under European pressure. See M. E. Yapp, *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792–1923* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 155–157; 214–215; Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798–1939* (Cambridge, 1989), passim. See also Family Tree of Mehmet Ali Bulent Rauf, in Bulent Rauf, *The Last Sultans*, ed. Meral Arim and Judy Kearns (Cheltenham, 1995).

**24.** See The Child across Time, in Bulent Rauf, *Addresses II* (Roxburgh, Scotland, 2001), p. 90. She was the sister of Mehmet Tevfik Pasha, who succeeded his father Ismail as khedive, and of Ahmet Fuad I Pasha, who would become the first king of Egypt.

Fatma Hanim appears to have had a special connection with the Celvetiyye, assuming responsibility with her daughter for restoring the mausoleum-mosque complex of the Celveti saint and effectively the first shaykh of the *ṭarīqa* Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi (d.1628) in Üsküdar, Istanbul, after it was damaged in a thunderstorm in 1910. On this complex see Raymond Lifchez, The Lodges of Istanbul, in Lifchez, ed., *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* (Berkeley, LA and London, 1992), pp. 113–117. On her pivotal role in the renovation (which took place some years after the damage was inflicted) and the gifts and donations she made, see H. Kamil Yilmaz, *Azīz Mahmūd Hüdāyī: Hayati, Eserleri, Tarīkati* (Istanbul, 1999), p. 262 and n. 20; Kemaleddin Şenocak, *Kutbu'l-ārifīn Seyyid Azīz Mahmūd Hüdāyī (K. S.)* (Istanbul, 1970) p. 30 n. 2.

**25.** For a comprehensive study of the movement and associated figures see Suha Taji-Farouki, *Beshara and Ibn ʿArabī: A Movement of Sufi Spirituality in the Modern World* (forthcoming).

**26.** *The Ḥizbu-l Wiqāyah of Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi* (MIAS, Oxford); reprinted 2003. The *Awrād* were published first in 1979 as Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi, *Wird* (MIAS, Oxford); reprinted 1988.

**27.** See http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/Publications.html.

**28.** Ibid.

# 2

# A Prayer across Time

## *Historical dimensions*

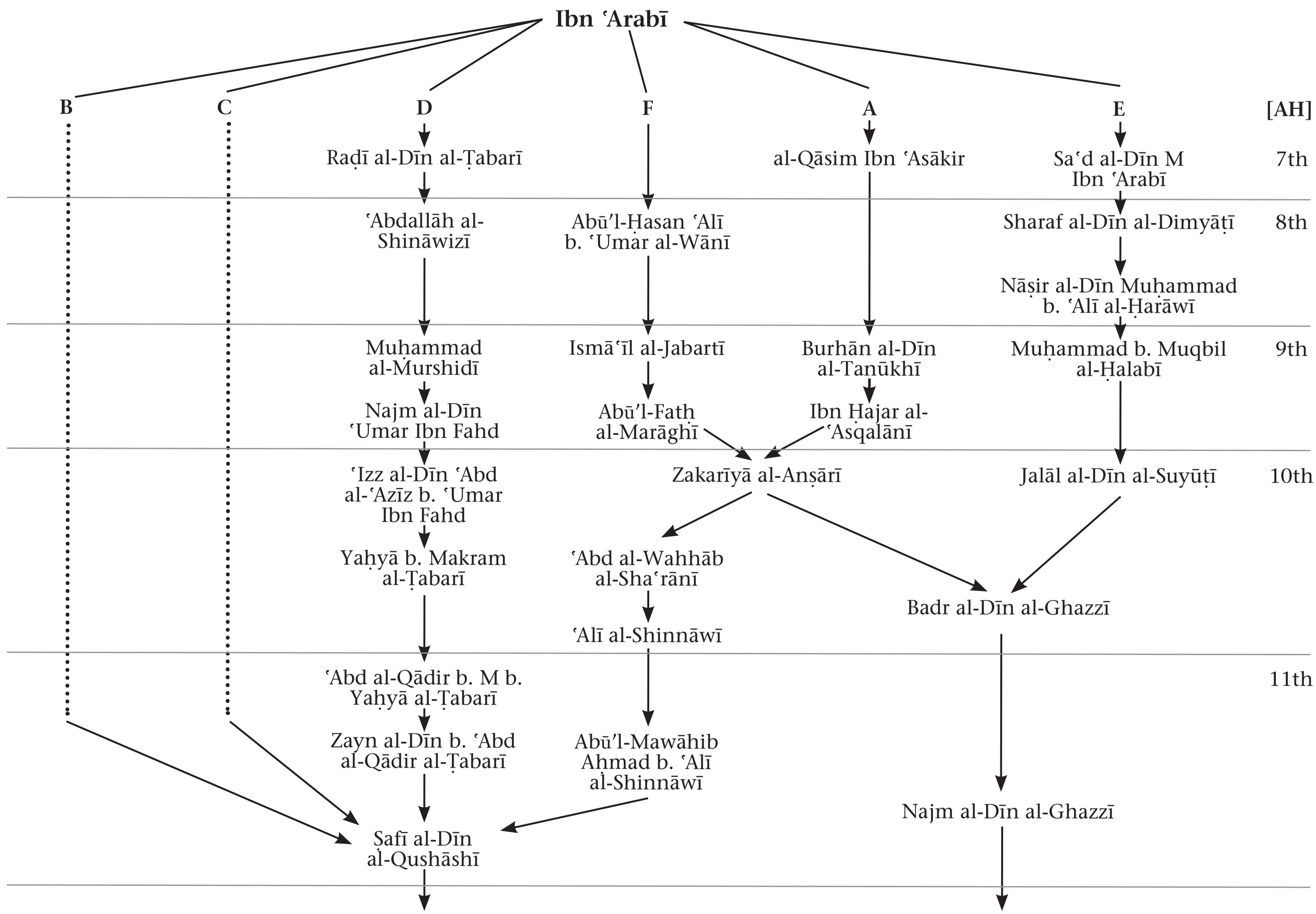
Based on the manuscript collection in the Suleymaniye Library (Istanbul), which holds over forty distinct copies, it is possible to construct a picture of the transmission, presentation and use of the *Dawr* during the last four hundred years.[1] Around a half of these copies are explicitly dated, or can be dated approximately based on contextual information: the earliest dates from the late 11th/17th century, the greatest number from the 13th/19th century.[2] The prayer appears in a variety of settings. For example there are seven commentaries, four in Arabic and three in Ottoman Turkish, the earliest probably from the late 12th/18th century.[3] Beautiful individual copies bound alone or with another short prayer and embellished with gold were most likely produced at the request of important figures (like that brought to London by Rauf).[4] The *Dawr* sometimes appears as the only prayer alongside several non-devotional works, of which some may also be attributed to Ibn ʿArabī.[5] It is found in compilations devoted exclusively to prayers and prayer-commentaries, including at times other prayers attributed to Ibn ʿArabī,[6] and other kinds of devotional text.[7] It appears also in collections of prayers and non-devotional tracts, the latter sometimes attributed to figures associated with the school of Ibn ʿArabī.[8] There are copies of the prayer in personal notebooks that hold an intimate record of an individual's favourite poetic verses, prayers, Qur'anic verses and fragments from the works of various Islamic authorities, in addition to spiritual reflections, supplications, talismans, numerological codes and short devotional texts.[9]

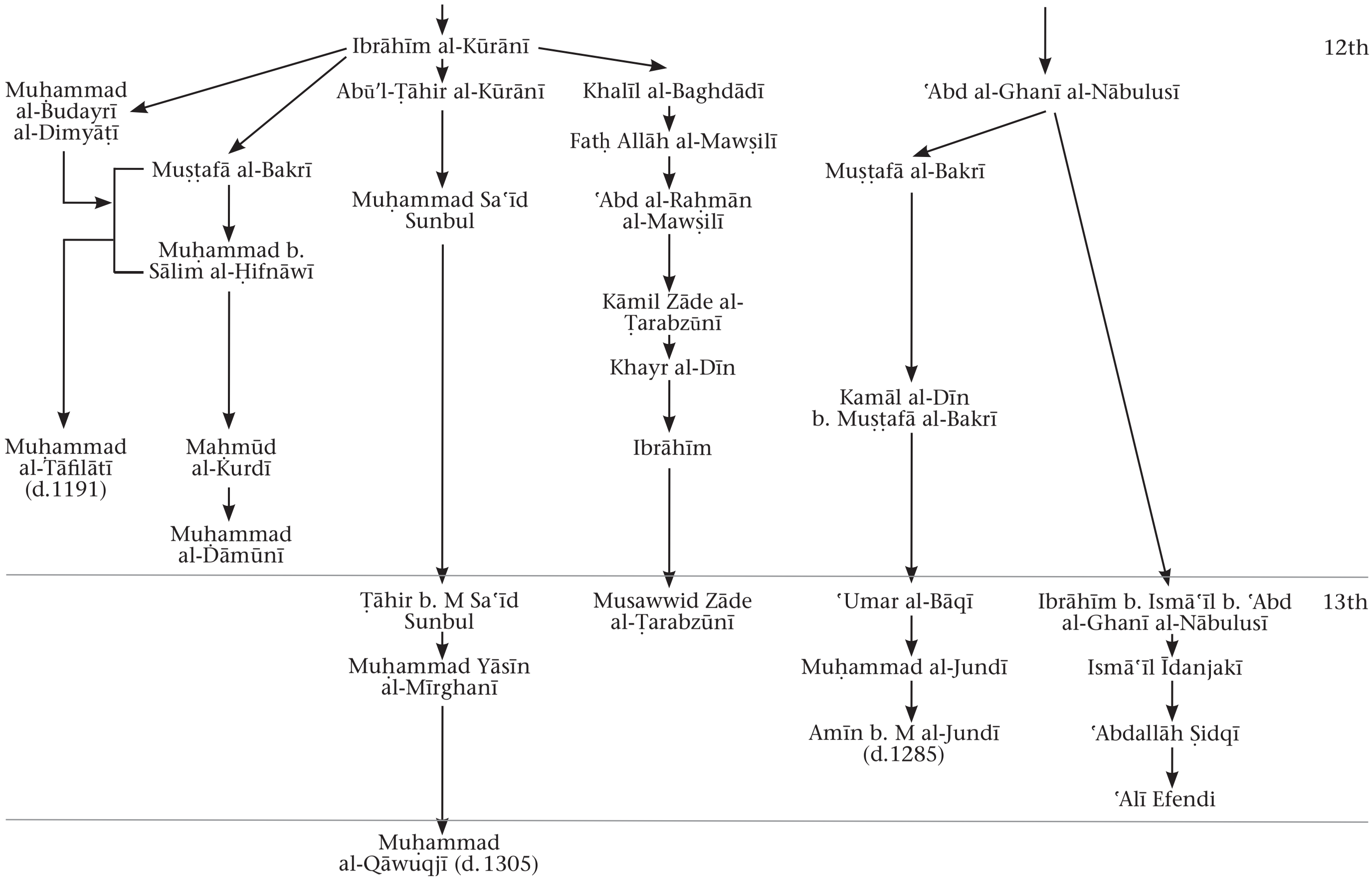
The repeated copying of the prayer in diverse settings bears

witness to its circulation and use over the last four hundred years.[10] Pointing to its constituency of readers during the closing years of Ottoman rule, the Suleymaniye copies have been drawn from collections gathered from *tekke*s and *derga*s associated with diverse *ṭarīqa*s (such as Şazeli and Düğümlü Baba), madrasas attached to mosques, pashas' collections and collections endowed by sultans. The earlier copies provide some indication of the prayer's users four hundred years ago, but chains of transmission or authorities (*sanad*, pl. *asnād*)[11] attached to seven copies make it possible to trace the history of its use and transmission beyond the date of our earliest copy to the time of its author. These chains illuminate two aspects in the prayer's transmission. Vertically, they identify key figures in its passage from generation to generation, while suggesting that it has indeed been in continuous use in every generation since its author's day. Horizontally, the chains elucidate the circles within which the prayer was disseminated, pointing to their geographical loci, *ṭarīqa* affiliations and intellectual orientations and identifying figures who served as a nexus between different circles within the larger network. We give below biographical information concerning figures in six chains,[12] arranged by century from the earliest to the most recent. The treatment does not aspire to be exhaustive, but focuses on significant historical figures.[13] The chains themselves are presented as they appear in our sources in an Appendix. A diagram of these chains is also provided below, using readily identifiable names as elaborated in the biographical notes. After each name in these notes, the chain(s) in which the figures concerned appear are identified by a capital letter, for ease of location in terms of sources (as set out in the Appendix), and in the diagram (overleaf).

Any discussion of such chains must pay due attention to the cultural and social setting from which they emanate, with its associated practices and priorities. With this in mind, they can be investigated in terms of the plausibility of their individual links, encompassing chronology and the circumstances of the *ijāza* implicit within and underpinning each link.[14] We attempt such an investigation below. Finally, we consider how the picture that emerges from these chains

can illuminate important trends and tendencies in Islamic culture and thought during specific historical periods.


Ibn ʿArabī
B
C
D
F
A
E
[AH]
Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī
al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir
Saʿd al-Dīn M Ibn ʿArabī
7th
ʿAbdallāh al-Shināwizī
Abū'l-Hasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Wānī
Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī
8th
Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarāwī
Muḥammad al-Murshidī
Ismāʿīl al-Jabartī
Burhān al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī
Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī
9th
Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn Fahd
Abū'l-Fatḥ al-Marāghī
Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī
ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar Ibn Fahd
Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī
Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī
10th
Yaḥyā b. Makram al-Ṭabarī
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī
Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī
ʿAlī al-Shinnāwī
ʿAbd al-Qādir b. M b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭabarī
11th
Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī
Abū'l-Mawāhib Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Shinnāwī
Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī
Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī




**Chains of Transmission of *al-Dawr al-aʿlā***

# *Transmitters of the prayer*

## 7th century AH

**Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī**
{E} [d.656/1258]
The second son of Ibn ʿArabī; born in Malatya in AH 618. He left an important diwan. A student of hadith, he visited Cairo and lived in Aleppo.[15]

**Raḍī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. M b. Ibrāhīm b. Abū Bakr b. M al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī** {D} [d.722/1322]
Also known as al-Raḍī al-Ṭabarī and Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq, a Shafiʿi born in AH 636 who held the position of imam at the Maqām Ibrāhīm ('Station of Abraham') in Mecca.[16] Son of a sharifian (Husayni) family respected far and wide for its learning and one of the oldest of the established families in Mecca (Raḍī al-Dīn's ancestor settled there *c.*570), well-connected and with top-ranking positions of *qāḍī* (judge), imam, mufti, *khaṭīb* (preacher) and teacher passing from generation to generation. Writing in the 17th century, the biographer al-Muḥibbī reported that from 673/1274 the family had held the imamate of the Maqām Ibrāhīm exclusively and continuously.[17] Raḍī al-Dīn studied under prominent figures and became learned in the Shafiʿi *madhhab* (school of law). He was outstanding in piety, humbleness and charitableness, and never left the Hijaz.[18] The many examples listed by the biographer Ibn al-ʿIrāqī suggest that he was a significant figure in transmitting works to his contemporaries, including many visitors to Mecca.[19]

**Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Muẓaffar b. Maḥmūd b. Tāj al-Umanāʾ Aḥmad Ibn ʿAsākir** {A}
A member of the Banū ʿAsākir clan, which held an important position in Damascus during AH 470–660 and produced a dynasty of Shafiʿi

scholars.[20] He appears under the full name given here as having received an *ijāza* from Ibn ʿArabī for the latter's *K. al-Mu'ashsharāt al-maymūna*.[21] According to Yahya, he also appears in a chain attached to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* (where his name is given as Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb), for which he also received an *ijāza* directly from the author.[22] In a collection in his hand of works by Ibn ʿArabī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī, al-Qāsim refers to the latter in terms suggesting he may have been among Qūnawī's disciples.[23] Among those to whom he gave *ijāza*s is **Burhān al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī**.[24]

## 8th century AH

**Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī**
{E} [d.705/1306]
Born in AH 613, an Egyptian hadith scholar and one of the most important figures in hadith transmission of the last third of the 7th century AH. He is best known for his *muʿjam shuyūkh* or dictionary of authorities. This gives the names of his shaykhs and those he met and from whom he received works in many fields, providing a record of hadith and other texts collected during numerous travels in Egypt, the Hijaz, Iraq and Syria.[25] His first visit to Syria was in 645. He returned to the north of the country on either side of a visit to Baghdad in 650, and between late 654 and late 656 he stayed several times (or possibly settled continuously) in Damascus.[26] The *muʿjam* includes **Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ṭā'ī al-Dimashqī**.[27]

**al-Nūr/Nūr al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Abū Bakr al-Wānī [al-Khilāṭī al-Ṣūfī]** {F} [d.727/1327]
Born in *c.*635 or 637 and known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, he settled in Egypt. Two chains attached to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* give him transmitting from Ibn ʿArabī and to **Ismāʿīl al-Jabartī**.[28] The *silsila* (chain of transmission) of the *khirqa akbarīya* (akbarian mantle) as given

by Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī also passes from Ibn ʿArabī to him and from him to Ismāʿīl al-Jabartī.[29] He appears in the *maʿājim shuyūkh* of certain of his contemporaries.[30] He took works from various well-known authorities and was celebrated for his teaching and transmission of hadith, in which he connected young to old during his long life (he died aged 92).[31]

**Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Idrīs al Kurdī al-Ḥarāwī**[32] {E} [d.781/1379]
Born in Dimyat, his date of birth is given as AH 696/7 (or 687 or 701).[33] Through the agency of his maternal uncle ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī, he audited works from **Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī** (who died when Nāṣir al-Dīn was eight years old).[34] He also received *ijāza*s from other shaykhs in Cairo. He transmitted to hadith scholars, linked young to old through his long life, and became unrivalled in this field. People sought him out to audit works and acquire *samāʿ*s (certificates of audition) from him (the biographer Ibn al-ʿIrāqī reports that he studied under him many works received from al-Dimyāṭī through *ijāza*s). He was a soldier who served as one of the sultan's axe-bearers (and was thus known as al-Ṭabardār). He was well known for his piety, probity and love of the good. He transmitted to **Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī**.[35]

## 9th century AH

**Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Saʿīd al-Tanūkhī al-Baʿlī**[36] {A} [d.800/1398]
Known as al-Burhān al-Shāmī, he was born in Damascus in AH 709 and grew up there, but later settled in Cairo (his family originated from Baʿl [Baʿalbek]). He received *ijāza*s from over three hundred (by some accounts nearly four hundred) authorities, including **al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir**. He studied hadith, *fiqh* or jurisprudence (in Hama, Aleppo and Cairo as well as other locations) and Qur'an readings/recitation, and was authorised to teach and issue

legal opinions. A highly respected scholar, he became 'shaykh of Egypt' both in hadith transmission and Qur'an readings. Among the many who studied under and transmitted works from him was **Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī,** who reports that he spent a long time in close companionship with him (and experienced 'the *baraka* of his supplication'). Ibn Ḥajar detailed hadiths narrated by those listed in al-Tanūkhī's *muʿjam*, and developed certain of al-Tanūkhī's works on hadith.[37] The historian and biographer Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.748/1352) also studied under al-Tanūkhī and transmitted hadith from him. When al-Tanūkhī lost his sight, he became known as al-Burhān al-Shāmī 'the Blind'.[38]

**Ismāʿīl al-Jabartī al-Zabīdī** {F} [d.806/1404]
Charismatic sufi shaykh and ardent follower of Ibn ʿArabī. Together with his disciple ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d.832/1429), he disseminated the works of Ibn ʿArabī in Zabid, giving rise to a sufi movement in Rasulid Yemen committed to his teachings and those of his school.[39]

**al-Jamāl/Jamāl al-Dīn [Abū'l-Maḥāsin] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm [b. Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr] al-Murshidī [al-Makkī]** {D}
Meccan hadith scholar who transmitted works in hadith to **ʿUmar Ibn Fahd al-Makkī**.[40]

**Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī** {A} [d.852/1448]
Prominent Egyptian hadith scholar (author of *Fatḥ al-bārī*, the great commentary on the *Saḥīḥ*), biographer and Shafiʿi mufti; often regarded as the greatest *ʿālim* (scholar) of his generation, he held the position of Chief Judge of Egypt and Syria for a total of twenty-one years.[41] As noted above, he transmitted from **al-Tanūkhī**. In evaluating his attitude towards Ibn ʿArabī Knysh describes him as an adversary and critic,[42] but suggests at the same time that, in spite of some biographers' attempts to depict him as an implacable enemy, Ibn Ḥajar presented the widest possible spectrum of opinions on Ibn ʿArabī and avoided any clear-cut judgement of heresy or unbelief.

On this basis, he concludes that his position can be described as 'agnostic'.[43] Ibn Ḥajar's writings were for some time to come perhaps the last to present a favourable view of Ibn Taymīya outside of strict Hanbali circles (by the mid-14th century the salafi view of Islam as articulated by Ibn Taymīya was largely eclipsed by the Ashʿari–sufi ulama establishment, which dominated the Sunni cultural milieu).[44]

**Muḥammad Abū'l-Fatḥ b. Abū Bakr [Zayn al-Dīn/al-Zayn] al-Marāghī [Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qurashī al-Makkī]** {F} [d.859/1455]
Known as al-Marāghī al-ṣaghīr ('the younger'), born in Medina in AH 775, he was a *faqīh* (jurist) and hadith scholar who left a number of works and appears in many chains of transmission. According to one of them, he transmitted Ibn Arabi's works and all that he transmitted to **Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī**. He transmitted his *fihris* (bibliography) to **ʿUmar b. Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Fahd**.[45] He died in Mecca and has been described as a saint.[46]

**Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī al-Ṣīrafī** {E} [d.870/1466]
A highly important hadith transmitter (described as *musnid al-dunyā fī ʿaṣrihi*, 'the most important hadith transmitter on earth in his time'), as the last remaining person to have transmitted from al-Fakhr Ibn al-Bukhārī's last living companion (al-Ṣalāḥ M b. Ibrāhīm b. Abū ʿUmar al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī), and thus from al-Fakhr himself through a single intermediary.[47] Those who transmitted hadith from Muḥammad b. Muqbil during his long life participated in the honour associated with his 'high' chain of authorities, flowing from his status as last link with a revered, bygone generation. They included Muḥammad b.ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī[48] and **Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī**, to whom Muḥammad b. Muqbil sent a written *ijāza* (from Aleppo to Egypt) in AH 869.[49]

**Sirāj al-Dīn/al-Sirāj ʿUmar [Najm al-Dīn] b. Muḥammad [Taqī al-Dīn] Ibn Fahd al-Makkī** {D} [d.885/1480]
Known also as Abū'l-Qāsim and Abū Ḥafṣ, a sharifian (al-Hāshimī al-ʿAlawī) and a Shafiʿi, he was born *c.*812. His grandfather had

taken his father Taqī al-Dīn (b.787 in Egypt) to settle in Mecca, where he audited works and received *ijāza*s from many shaykhs, and became a well-respected authority and prolific author.[50] The family produced a number of important transmitters, including ʿUmar.[51] ʿUmar detailed hadiths narrated by those listed in the *muʿjam* of **Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Marāghī**, among others.[52] He transmitted to **Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī** and **al-Suyūṭī**, among others.[53] He left a number of bibliographies and lists of teachers (*mashyakha*) pertaining both to himself and to others, and various works, including important historical works focusing on Mecca: *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā*; *al-Taysīr bi-tarājim al-Ṭabarīyīn*; *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-ʿIqd al-thamīn (fī ta'rīkh al-balad al-amīn)*.[54]

## 10th century AH

**Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī** {E} [d.911/1505]
Great Egyptian polymath, prolific author and 'orthodox' (Shadhili) sufi who spearheaded an apology for sufism and its leading figures. This encompassed a defence of the orthodoxy of Ibn ʿArabī in, for example, *Tanbīh al-ghabī bi-tabri'at Ibn ʿArabī*, written as a refutation of al-Biqāʿī's *Tanbīh al-ghabī bi-takfīr Ibn al-Fāriḍ wa Ibn ʿArabī*.[55] Those from whom he transmitted included **Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī**.[56]

**[ʿIzz al-Dīn] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar Ibn Fahd al-Makkī**
{D} [d.921–22/1515–16]
A Shafiʿi known also as Abū'l-Khayr and Abū Fāris, he was born in Mecca in AH 850. He audited works from his father **ʿUmar Ibn Fahd al-Makkī** and grandfather Taqī al-Dīn. His father acquired *ijāza*s for him from various scholars including **Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī**,[57] and took him to audit works from **al-Marāghī** among others. He then travelled widely through the Hijaz, Egypt, Syria and Palestine, gathering uncountable *samāʿ*s and *ijāza*s. He read works with **Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī** and spent time with al-Sakhāwī, among others.

He distinguished himself particularly in hadith scholarship in the Hijaz (he signed himself *khādim al-ḥadīth fī'l-ḥaram al-Makkī*, 'the servant of hadith in the Sacred Precinct of Mecca').[58] His *muʿjam shuyūkh* encompasses a thousand shaykhs.[59] In addition to works on hadith, he produced *Nuzhat dhawī al-aḥlām bi-akhbār al-khuṭabā' wa'l-a'imma wa quḍāt balad Allāh al-ḥarām* ('The dreamer's stroll through the stories of preachers, imams and judges of God's sacred land'). The historian Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn was among those who transmitted from him,[60] while those to whom he transmitted included **Yaḥyā b. Makram b. Muḥibb al-Dīn {Abū'l-Maʿālī} b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī**.[61]

**Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī** {F/A} [d.926/1520]
Born in AH 823–24, a revered Egyptian sufi and Shafiʿi authority. He studied, among others, under **Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī**,[62] and became associated with numerous *ṭuruq* (pl. of *ṭarīqa*). His renown in the exoteric sciences (especially *fiqh*: he acted as Shafiʿi grand *qāḍī* for twenty years and his commentaries on Shafiʿi law became part of the madrasa curriculum) enabled him to protect his spiritual life from external scrutiny. He shared this dimension only with his closest pupils, such as **ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī**, who regarded him first and foremost as a saint and recorded his *karāmāt*.[63] His many works include some relating to *taṣawwuf* (sufism), such as commentaries on the writings of al-Qushayrī and Shaykh Arslān.[64] During the controversy caused in Cairo by the anti-monistic campaign of al-Biqāʿī aimed at Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn ʿArabī (874/1469), the sultan sought his expert opinion to put an end to the agitation caused by the affair: he defended them.[65] His many students included **Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī**,[66] who received *ijāza*s in all of Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī's works when he studied under him during a visit to Cairo.[67] According to one chain, Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī transmitted the works of Ibn ʿArabī (and all that the latter transmitted) from **Abū'l-Fatḥ al-Marāghī**.[68]

**ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Shaʿrānī**[69] {F} [d.973/1565]
Egyptian scholar, Shafiʿi mufti, historian of sufism (through his *ṭabaqāt* or biographical compilations, among them the immensely popular *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*), sufi and apologist for sufis. He was a devoted student and defender of the orthodoxy of Ibn ʿArabī (through, among others, the 'deliberate interpolation' hypothesis),[70] and popularised his teachings through the accessible and widely circulated *al-Yawāqīt wa'l-jawāhir*, for example. The best known and most exalted of his teachers was **Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī**, who initiated him into the way in AH 914.[71] His sufism has been described as 'orthodox, middle-of-the-road' (he identified with the orthodox way of al-Junayd and attacked the excesses of some *ṭarīqa*s).[72] His stance as a sufi, *faqīh*[73] and scholar of hadith was underpinned by reformist, even salafi, tendencies.[74]

**ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Shinnāwī** {F}
Grandson of Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī (d.932), who was a popular leader and Aḥmadī shaykh (after the popular saint Aḥmad {al-Sayyid} al-Badawī [d.675/1276]) who spread his *dhikr* (practice of remembrance of God) through the surrounding area from his *zāwiya* (sufi centre) in Mahallat Ruh west of Cairo, authorising the masses (and even women and children) to arrange *dhikr* sessions.[75] Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī had initiated **ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī** into his way and designated him to teach *dhikr* and to educate *murīd*s in AH 932.[76] After Muḥammad's death his sons, including ʿAbd al-Quddūs, who became his successor, were hostile to the powerful disciple al-Shaʿrānī, but he served them and asked ʿAbd al-Quddūs to guide him as his shaykh. In the event, ʿAbd al-Quddūs became a disciple of al-Shaʿrānī, who initiated and guided him in the Aḥmadī way.[77] This relationship presumably also encompassed the son of ʿAbd al-Quddūs, ʿAlī, father of **Abū'l-Mawāhib Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī**.

**Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī** {A/E} [d.984/1576]
His family migrated from Gaza to Damascus ten generations before he was born in AH 904, and quickly became well established and

respected there for its learning. His father Raḍī al-Dīn reportedly took Badr al-Dīn while a toddler to a shaykh who conferred upon him the *khirqa*, taught him *dhikr* and gave him *ijāza*s.[78] Early instruction received from his father was supplemented by instruction from the ulama of Damascus (he studied hadith and *taṣawwuf* in particular under Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn al-Shuwaykh al-Maqdisī). He accompanied his father to Cairo at the age of twelve, and stayed there for five years, during which time he studied under various authorities, particularly **Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī**. His father also acquired *ijāza*s for him from **Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī** and introduced him to the saints of Egypt. They returned to Damascus in 921.

Badr al-Dīn launched a long career in Damascus as a teacher (including in the Umayyad Mosque) and Shafiʿi mufti. He produced many works, assumed several positions and drew students from far and wide, among them the great-grandfather of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, Ismāʿīl (d.993).[79] He loved the sufis and was at pains to advise them if he heard they had acted in a way contrary to the shariʿa. A respected and prominent figure, he was the father of **Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī**.

## 11th century AH

**Abū'l-Mawāhib Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Shinnāwī**
{F} [d.1028/1619]
Also known as al-Khāmī and hailing from the important Egyptian sufi al-Shinnāwī family, he was born in 975/1568 in Mahallat Ruh west of Cairo and studied in Cairo and Medina, where he settled.[80] A prominent sufi, he became the leading shaykh of the Naqshbandiyya in Medina in his time. The order was introduced to Medina (with the Shattariyya) by the Indian Shaykh Ṣibghatallāh b. Rūḥallāh al-Sindī (al-Barwajī), who settled there in 1596 or 1605: he initiated al-Shinnāwī, became his teacher, and authorised him to educate *murīd*s, teach the *dhikr* and confer the *khirqa*.[81] While he studied hadith with its major scholars, al-Shinnāwī does not appear to have been regarded

as a hadith scholar himself.[82] Nonetheless, he emerged as a dominant figure in the intellectual milieu of the Haramayn, where he was an outspoken adherent of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the Oneness of Being). His many students included **Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī** (who venerated his teacher as the saintly 'Seal of his time'). Brockelmann lists five of al-Shinnāwī's works, including *al-Iqlīd al-farīd fī tajrīd al-tawḥīd*, on which al-Nābulusī later wrote a commentary.[83]

**ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī** {D} [d.1033/1624]
Grandson of **Yaḥyā b. Makram b. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī** {D}, member of important sharifian family long established in Mecca and holders of the imamate of the Maqām Ibrāhīm since AH 673. Born in 976, by the age of twelve ʿAbd al-Qādir had memorised the Qur'an and led Ramadan night prayers at the Maqām. From 991, he studied with prominent shaykhs (including, for example, al-Shams Muḥammad al-Ramlī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfiʿī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sharbīnī), having received an *ijāza* from some of them to pass on the works he had already memorised. After encompassing a broad range of disciplines and works, he composed numerous texts, including, for example, *Durrat al-aṣdāf al-sanīya fī dharwat al-awṣāf al-Ḥusaynīya*, *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil min aʿyān al-rasāʾil*, *Ifḥām al-majārī fī ifhām al-Bukhārī* and *ʿArāʾis al-abkār wa gharāʾis al-afkār*. The biographer al-Muḥibbī describes him as 'the imam of Hijazi imams'.[84]

**Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī** {A/E} [d.1061/1651]
Born in 977/1570, he attended the public lessons of his father **Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī** and received *ijāza*s from him while still a child (Badr al-Dīn died when Najm al-Dīn was seven years old). He studied under and received *ijāza*s from various scholars,[85] then held office and taught from a young age in several locations, continuing thus throughout his long life. He was Shafiʿi mufti in Damascus for thirty-five years up to his death (from 1025). He also taught hadith and read al-Bukhārī in the Umayyad Mosque for twenty-seven years (from 1034).[86] Among his numerous and well-known students

was Ismāʿīl, the father of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d.1062).[87] He was also an early teacher and shaykh of **ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī**[88] himself and of **Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī**.[89] His numerous writings encompass works on hadith, *tafsīr* (exegesis), *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf* and travelogues. As a historian, he is author of the biographical work *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, and its continuation *Luṭf al-samar wa qaṭf al-thamar: min tarājim aʿyān al-ṭabaqa al-ūlā min al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*. His reputation and particularly his expertise in hadith[90] became known beyond Syria, especially in the Hijaz. He made twelve trips to the Haramayn: during the last one (1059), he was inundated with requests for *ijāza*s, including from scholars such as al-Shams Muḥammad al-Bābilī, who expressed their admiration for his exceptional knowledge.[91] As far as his *ṭarīqa* affiliations are concerned, the primary one was to the Qadiriyya. Some of his contemporaries described him as one of the three *abdāl* (category of saints) in Syria.[92]

**Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qushāshī**
{B/C/D/F} [d.1071/1661]

Hailing from a Jerusalem family with sharifian descent, his father (whose shaykh was the Maliki Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tilimsānī) migrated to Medina. Ṣafī al-Dīn's early education was under his father's wing, and included a trip to Yemen in AH 1011, where he joined circles of prominent ulama. Returning to Medina after a stay in Mecca, he met **Abū'l-Mawāhib al-Shinnāwī**, who initiated him into the sufi way. He studied under al-Shinnāwī, Ṣibghatallāh and numerous other shaykhs (perhaps as many as one hundred), becoming affiliated to many *ṭarīqa*s including the Qadiriyya, Shattariyya, Shadhiliyya and Naqshbandiyya. He developed a close attachment to al-Shinnāwī, married his daughter, and became his *khalifa* (deputy) in life and later his successor as shaykh in the Shattariyya. A charismatic figure, he attracted a large influx of students and disciples in Medina and became established as one of the greatest sufis of his time, as well as a teacher of theology and shariʿa in his own right.[93] **Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī** was the most prominent of his students (and al-Qushāshī was al-Kūrānī's major and most influential teacher): another was

ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d.1134).[94] He has been counted as one of four influential ulama who would shape the Medinan intellectual milieu of the late 17th century. Thanks to his charisma and learning, al-Qushāshī left behind a cohesive group of followers loyal to his approach and cutting across *fiqh madhhab*s and sufi *ṭarīqa*s.[95]

Al-Qushāshī was described by the biographer al-Muḥibbī as 'the imam of all those who believed in *waḥdat al-wujūd*'.[96] His importance in transmitting the doctrines of the school of Ibn ʿArabī to various parts of the Muslim world through his students has been emphasised: for example, the Sumatran ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Singkel was a student of his for twenty years.[97] Al-Qushāshī has been identified as a link in one of the still 'living' chains of transmission of the *khirqa akbarīya*. He reportedly claimed the office of Seal of Muhammadan Sainthood for himself, attaining this after having studied under five teachers.[98]

Al-Qushāshī's interest in theology has been recognised: while the majority of his writings were glosses or commentaries on major sufi tracts (such as al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-kāmil*) as well as works on *uṣūl* (the principles of the faith), he thus also compiled three treatises on the issue of *kasb* (acquisition), a principal concept of Ashaʿri doctrine, at least one of which invited some controversy. He was also involved in hadith scholarship, encompassing sufi interpretations of hadith[99] and an approach that adumbrated emerging trends that became more distinct in the next generation.[100] On this and other grounds, a possible (embryonic) reformist tendency can be identified alongside his mystical vocation and commitment to maintaining sufi traditions.[101]

**Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī al-Ḥusaynī al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī** {D} [d.1078/1667]

Born in AH 1002, he studied under his father **ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabarī** and the prominent shaykhs of Mecca and Medina such as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Ḥiṣārī al-Muʿammar, receiving *ijāza*s from them. Among others, Muḥammad al-Shillī Bāʿalawī and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjaymī al-Makkī received *ijāza*s from him. He was not as celebrated as his father.[102]

## 12th century AH

**Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī** {B/C/D/F} [d.1101/1689]
The most outstanding of **Aḥmad al-Qushāshī**'s disciples, he shared a special relationship with his teacher, and became his son-in-law and designated heir.[103] Born in 1023/1615, al-Kūrānī studied a wide range of subjects under many teachers in his native Shahrazur and then in Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo and Medina, where he finally settled.[104] He was initiated into and authorised to teach several *ṭarīqa*s including the Shattariyya, Qadiriyya, Chishtiyya and his primary *ṭarīqa*, the Naqshbandiyya. On al-Qushāshī's death in 1661 he succeeded him as supreme shaykh of the Shattariyya as well as in his major teaching post,[105] and as 'the chief exponent of Ibn ʿArabī's legacy in Medina'.[106]

A Shafiʿi *ʿālim*, al-Kūrānī's importance to the intellectual life of Medina in his time is such that he has been described as 'the doyen of the city's ulama'.[107] His influence reached far beyond Medina, however, as the 'undisputed leader' of the school of Ibn ʿArabī in his epoch.[108] For example, his influence on Indonesian Islam has been documented, mediated through his important Indonesian disciples like ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf Singkel.[109] One of al-Kūrānī's works on the principle of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, *Itḥāf al-dhakī*, was written at the request of Indonesian disciples, and another (refuting an earlier denunciation of the principle as heretical pantheism by Nuruddin Raniri [d.1666] of Acheh) was produced for an Indonesian audience.[110] Leading Indian ulama requested a fatwa from him (among the prestigious ulama of the Hijaz) in 1682 on the ideas of Aḥmad Sirhindī (d.1624), founder of the Mujaddidiyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya, whom they opposed.[111]

A versatile and prolific author, al-Kūrānī's interests encompassed hadith, *fiqh* and *kalām* (theology) alongside *taṣawwuf*. His emphasis on hadith as a source for understanding and defining aspects of religion and for shariʿa (and thus his role in the rising 17th–18th century interest in hadith scholarship as a means for reforming *fiqh* and

theology) was such that, after his death, there was a remarkable increase among his Medinan students and junior colleagues in writing commentaries on hadith collections.[112] Described as having been 'by nature a conciliator',[113] his complex intellectual position reconciled his loyalty to Ibn ʿArabī's teaching with commitment to a salafi outlook. He thus reinterpreted the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in accordance with the orthodox Islamic view by emphasising the Qur'an and Sunna as the ultimate frame of reference and insisting on the interdependency of the sufi vision and the obligations of shariʿa 'in accordance with *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* (the venerable forefathers)'. It seems he undertook to revisit the major issues of sufism and theology with a view to reconstructing their dominant modes (expressed through *waḥdat al-wujūd* and late Ashʿari dogma), in order to bring them into line with what he saw as the original Islamic view, drawing on the legacy of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Taymīya (and the latter's student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya) in projecting his vision of this original view.[114] On this basis, he stands as a significant precursor to the reformist currents that were to gain powerful expression across the Muslim world during the 18th century. Effectively replacing al-Qushāshī's authority, he served as an important point of reference for a large number of ulama throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, contributing to the rehabilitation of Ibn Taymīya and to opening the door for the re-emergence of the salafi school of thought in different parts of the Muslim world.[115]

**Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī** {B} [d.1140/1728]
Known as Ibn al-Mayyit, he hailed from a sharifian family whose ancestor came to Dimyat from Jerusalem. After his early education in Dimyat, he moved to al-Azhar. During 1091–92 (1680–81) he joined **Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī** for a year, became closely identified with him and studied under him works on *taṣawwuf*, hadith and *fiqh*. While he regarded himself principally as a Naqshbandi (he later shifted this affiliation to a Sirhindī *silsila* specifically), he had affiliations to several *ṭarīqa*s. He travelled between Dimyat, Cairo, Medina and Jerusalem, and became acquainted in each place with the most

illustrious circles of ulama of the time. In Cairo he was closely associated with the Bakrīs, and in Damascus with the circles of **ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī** and his disciples.[116] He was highly regarded as a hadith scholar and sufi teacher. **Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī** studied hadith with him in Jerusalem and was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya by him. Al-Budayrī was also the main teacher of **Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī**.[117]

**ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī** {A/E} [d.1143/1731]
Damascene sufi, hadith scholar,[118] traveller and poet. His prolific writings are underpinned by veneration of Ibn ʿArabī and defence of his metaphysical system, and dominated by the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*: he considered himself Ibn ʿArabī's spiritual son and disciple, and was his devotee and interpreter. He taught at the Umayyad Mosque and the Salimiyya madrasa at Ibn ʿArabī's mosque–tomb complex (from AH 1115), but his self-appointed role was as defender of sufism and its controversial practices and doctrines. His stance provoked serious criticism and attack, especially because he taught the works of Ibn ʿArabī to common folk as well as to the elite.[119] Affiliated to the Qadiri and Naqshbandi *ṭarīqa*s, he seems to have had limited participation and interest in *ṭarīqa* sufism, and to have set more store by his own uwaysi or 'Theo-didactic' sufism, including especially his link to Ibn ʿArabī as uwaysi master (although he himself had close disciples, this was not in a *ṭarīqa* framework).[120]

By the age of twelve, ʿAbd al-Ghanī had already received *ijāza*s (including in Ibn ʿArabī's works) in the company of his father Ismāʿīl from **Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī** among other high-ranking ulama such as ʿAbd al-Bāqī Taqī al-Dīn b. Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī (the Hanbali mufti of Damascus). His father, who was his first teacher and who died when he was twelve, appears as the prior link in several of ʿAbd al-Ghanī's *ijāza*s in hadith collections and the writings of Ibn ʿArabī: he had in fact been given the *ijāza*s of his father *en masse* as a child.[121] It is noteworthy that one of his last compositions was a commentary on the *ṣalawāt* of Ibn ʿArabī.[122]

**Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī [Muḥammad Abū'l-Ṭāhir]** {D} [d.1145/1733]
Born in Medina in 1081, he studied with his father **Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī** and other great shaykhs, including his father's colleagues and associates like al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjaymī al-Makkī and ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī.[123] He took his father's position as a teacher in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and rose to assume the position of Shafiʿi mufti in the city for a time. On his father's death he succeeded him as supreme shaykh of the Shattariyya (but the leading position of the ulama of Medina fell to one of Ibrāhīm's students). His works include *Ikhtiṣār sharḥ shawāhid al-Riḍā al-Baghdādī*.[124] The students who attended his many lessons (through which his father's teachings continued to be disseminated) included the Indian hadith scholar Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d.1163/1749),[125] who taught hadith in Medina for twenty-five years to numerous students, among them Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. They included also the great Indian Naqshbandi reformist Shāh Walī Allāh (d.1177/1763). The latter's stay in Medina during 1731–32 in Ṭāhir's circle had a lasting impact on his intellectual orientations: according to Shāh Walī Allāh's son, it amounted to a turning point in his career.[126] Al-Kattani observes that his own transmission from Ṭāhir proceeds via **Muḥammad Saʿīd Sunbul**, among others.[127]

**Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī** {A/B/C} [d.1162/1749]
Born in Damascus and reputed to have revived the Khalwati *ṭarīqa* in the Arab *mashriq* (east) of the 18th century. He was the most celebrated and important disciple of **ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī**: he read several of Ibn ʿArabī's works under him during his sojourns in Damascus and his own writings were to be profoundly influenced by Ibn ʿArabī's thought. He studied hadith under **Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī** in Jerusalem and under ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī: he was also a student of al-Kūrānī's son Ilyās (d.1138), who had moved to Damascus.[128] He was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya, Qadiriyya and Khalwatiyya, in the latter case by a shaykh who followed the way of the Qarabashiyya branch. Al-Bakrī became his sole

successor on the shaykh's death in 1121/1709, having earlier been granted a general permission to initiate and appoint *khalīfa*s. He went on to gain many disciples especially in Cairo and Jerusalem: his most important *khalīfa* was **Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī**. Al-Bakrī was a prolific writer (mainly on *sulūk* and *adab*, the sufi path, its culture and manners, but he also composed *awrād* {pl. of *wird*}, of which the best known is *Wird al-saḥar*). Like his teacher al-Nābulusī (on whom he wrote a reverential biography, and from whom he records that he received a general *ijāza* for all his lines of transmission and a specific one for his writings), he laid claim to a direct relation to Ibn ʿArabī, and direct authorisation by him. Like him, he too made several extensive journeys, moving especially between Jerusalem and Cairo, where he died.[129]

**Muḥammad Saʿīd (b. Muḥammad) Sunbul [al-Makkī]**
{D} [d.1175/1762]
Prominent Meccan scholar and Shafiʿi mufti: he transmitted from **Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī** among others, and to his son **Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul**, among others.[130]

**Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī/al-Ḥifnī**[131] {B/C} [d.1181/1767]
An important disciple and associate of **Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī** involved in renewing activity of the Khalwatiyya in Egypt. He was born in AH 1100 in Hifna, a village in the Bilbis district of Egypt, and studied from a young age in Cairo. On receiving *ijāza*s from his teachers there (the best known including **Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī**, through whom he received his Naqshbandi affiliation), in 1122 he established lessons in logic, *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, hadith and *kalām* attended by many students. He produced many works and became known for his *karāmāt*. He had been introduced to the sufi way by a certain Aḥmad al-Shādhilī al-Maghribī (known as al-Maqqarī): he then met **Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī** in 1133, who initiated him into the Qarabashiyya-Khalwatiyya and trained him in its path. Al-Bakrī eventually placed him above all his *khalīfa*s, and he became the only one he had invested with absolute authority who also survived him. Al-Ḥifnāwī

is reputed to have succeeded in reviving the *ṭarīqa* across Egypt, attracting large numbers of people and introducing it to the community of ulama at al-Azhar. Among his important *khalīfa*s/disciples were **Maḥmūd al-Kurdī**, ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī (Shaykh al-Azhar) and Aḥmad al-Dardayr, who is perhaps the best known.[132]

**Muḥammad al-Tāfilātī al-Khalwatī** {B} [d.1191/1777]
Brockelmann gives his full name as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Tāfilātī al-Maghribī,[133] al-Murādī as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Mālikī al-Ḥanafī al-Tāfilātī al-Maghribī.[134] The narrative here is based on al-Murādī's biographical entry.[135] Born in Morocco, al-Tāfilātī first studied under his father, a man of moderate learning. Before reaching puberty he taught students *al-Sanūsīya*, which he had studied under Shaykh Muḥammad al-Saʿdī al-Jazāʾirī. He travelled to Tripoli and from there to al-Azhar in Cairo. He remained in Egypt for two years and eight months and studied under **Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī**, among many others. While travelling by sea to visit his mother he was captured and taken to Malta, where he was held for over two years. He engaged there in a lengthy debate on matters of Muslim belief with Christian monks, among them one with some knowledge of Arabic. This monk eventually gave up the debate defeated, astonished that such knowledge could be held by someone young enough to be his grandson. Muḥammad's renown spread in Malta among monks and notables, and he was treated respectfully wherever he went. A vision he had eventually sealed his release and he made for Egypt, travelling from there to the Hijaz several times. He went to Yemen, Oman, Basra, Aleppo, Damascus and Anatolia (*al-Rūm*) and settled in Jerusalem, where he was appointed Hanafi mufti. His works number some eighty: in addition to his commentary on the prayer (*al-Durr al-aghlā bi-sharḥ al-Dawr al-aʿlā*),[136] Brockelmann mentions his *Ḥusn al-istiqṣāʾ bi-mā ṣaḥḥa wa thabata fīʾl-masjid al-aqṣā*.[137] Al-Tāfilātī appears in the chains of authorities of various later Damascene scholars.[138]

**Maḥmūd al-Kurdī** {C} [d.1195/1780–81]
A *khalīfa* of **Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī** and known also as al-Khalwatī, he was born in Kurdistan. He adopted a life of pious devotion, asceticism and isolation early on, and is reputed to have met frequently with Khiḍr and to have received the contents of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* without reading. When aged eighteen he saw al-Ḥifnāwī in a dream, and was told that this was his shaykh. He travelled to Egypt to find him, was initiated by him into the Khalwati way and eventually granted an *ijāza* to bring people into it: al-Ḥifnāwī would send those who wished to enter the way to him. He also developed a close relationship with **Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī**, whom he had met when the latter came to Cairo. He was celebrated for his *baraka* and the fact that he frequently saw the Prophet in dreams. After al-Ḥifnāwī's death al-Kurdī reportedly brought many people into the way and appointed *khalīfa*s himself. He produced a treatise as the result of a dream in which he saw Ibn ʿArabī give him a key and tell him to 'open the vault' (there is a commentary by his *khalīfa* and Shaykh al-Azhar ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī on this). He is also author of *al-Sulūk li-abnā' al-mulūk*.[139]

**Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, Abū'l-Futūḥ**
{A} [d.1196/1781–82]
Born in Jerusalem in 1143/1731, he was shaykh to the historian al-Murādī (author of the biographical work *Silk al-durar*).[140] Among others, he studied under **Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī** and Muḥammad, a third son of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. He took the Khalwati *ṭarīqa* from his father **Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī**. His works include a biography of his father, *Kashf al-ẓunūn fī asmā' al-shurūḥ wa'l-mutūn*, a commentary on *al-Ṣalāt al-Mashīshīya* and a diwan.[141]

**Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Dāmūnī** {C} [d. after 1199/1785]
In full Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Dāmūnī al-Shāfiʿī al-Khalwatī al-Naqshbandī al-Jalwatī, from al-Damun, Palestine: author in 1199/1785 of *Ḥikam*.[142] He entitled his commentary on the prayer *al-Durr al-thamīn li-sharḥ Dawr al-aʿlā li-sīdī Muḥyī al-Dīn*.

He describes how he was asked by his close and saintly companion Ḥusayn al-Ḥiṣnī[143] to elaborate for him the contents of the prayer. Having consulted and sought a guiding sign, he spent a few days in the hope of receiving divine permission to proceed, seeking this through the mediation of Ibn ʿArabī, who might reveal the prayer's secrets to him as its author. Once permission was received, he began. Al-Dāmūnī mentions Ibn ʿArabī first among his teachers 'whose insight is elixir'. Having detailed his chain of authorities, he adds that he has 'another, more elevated, chain – for it is from me to [Ibn ʿArabī]: it was he who gave me to drink of his pure wine, quenching my thirst in the world of similitudes, then guided me to him. It was he who brought me to live in Damascus, and gave me permission to guide elite and common folk alike. Thanks be to God for these momentous blessings, and for the greatest blessing of all: my attachment (*intisābī*) to this imam.'[144] His father Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Dāmūnī authored a defence of al-Nābulusī, *al-Shihāb al-qabasī fī radd man radda ʿalā ʿAbd al-Ghanī*.[145]

## 13th century AH

**Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī**
{E} [d.1222/1807]
Ibrāhīm's father Ismāʿīl (b.1085) was the only one of ʿAbd al-Ghanī's sons to survive him. Born in AH 1138, Ibrāhīm became an outstanding *ʿālim* of his time.[146] A prominent member of Damascene society, he inherited his father's teaching post at the Salimiyya mosque,[147] and became shaykh *qurrāʾ* (leading Qur'an reciter).[148] The confluence of several chains of transmission relating to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* through him is noteworthy.[149]

**Muḥammad al-Jundī al-ʿAbbāsī al-Maʿarrī** {A} [d.1264/1848]
He served as Hanafi mufti in his place of origin, Maʿarrat Nuʿman, Syria. Initially a follower of Shaykh Khālid al-Naqshbandī, who was responsible for spreading the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya widely

among Arabs, Kurds and Turks during the early 19th century, it is most likely that al-Jundī did not maintain contact with his successors after Shaykh Khālid's death in 1242/1827.[150]

**Muḥammad Amīn al-Jundī al-ʿAbbāsī al-Maʿarrī**
{A} [d.1285/1868]
Born in Maʿarrat Nuʿman, Syria in AH 1229, he was educated by his father **Muḥammad al-Jundī**,[151] from whom he took the Khalwati way. In Aleppo he studied hadith under Maḥmūd Efendi al-Marʿashī and was a student of the mufti ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mudarris. Returning to Maʿarrat Nuʿman, he served there as *qāḍī* and then as mufti following his father's death in 1264, until 1266 when he was summoned to Damascus to serve as Arab scribe of the Turkish army in Syria. In 1277 he was appointed Hanafi mufti of Damascus, and remained in this post until his removal in 1284. Thereafter he was appointed to the Ottoman state *shūrā* (council) in the capital, and served on several important official missions. His writings (some in Arabic, others Ottoman Turkish) include a work on the excellence of Syria, and a diwan. His Ottoman Turkish commentary on the *Dawr* was written in 1280, while he was still Hanafi mufti of Damascus. A reformist *ʿālim*, he was proficient in the teachings of Ibn ʿArabī as well as the new sciences of the era. When the Amir ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazāʿirī settled in Damascus, al-Jundī became one of his close associates: he also participated with him in rescuing Christians, and wrote poetry in praise of him.[152]

**Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul [al-Makkī]** {D}
Son of **Muḥammad Saʿīd Sunbul**, prominent Hijazi scholar who transmitted from his father and transmitted to, among others, **Yāsīn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mīrghanī**.[153]

**Muḥammad Yāsīn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghanī** {D}
ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghanī al-Makkī al-Ṭāʾifī the father (d.1207/1793), known as al-Maḥjūb, was a prominent sufi and influential *ʿālim*. Born in Mecca into a sharifian family, he attached

himself to Yūsuf al-Mahdalī (who was known as *al-quṭb* or the axis of his time) and became an uwaysi sufi after the latter's death, receiving learning directly from the Prophet. While stories of his *karāmāt* are plentiful, he also left a substantial number of works.[154] He has been counted as part of the late 18th century reformist network, of which the Haramayn was the crossroads (his students included Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, for example). The Mīrghanī family appears to have been politically active: in 1166/1752–53, a time of political upheaval in Mecca, ʿAbdallāh had moved to Ta'if apparently as a result of his opposition to the Zaydi sharifs.[155]

One of ʿAbdallāh's sons became the father of Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (d.1852). Born a year after his grandfather ʿAbdallāh's death, ʿUthmān became one of the most important students of the major reformist Moroccan sufi teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d.1837), and founder of the Khatmiyya (or Mīrghaniyya) order.[156] ʿUthmān's paternal uncle Muḥammad Yāsīn became his guardian upon the death of his father when ʿUthmān was ten years old. Himself childless, Muḥammad Yāsīn took on his nephew's education. Muḥammad Yāsīn later taught hadith to another student of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, the Yemeni al-Ḥasan ʿĀkish, when he came to Mecca. He was also a teacher of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (d.1276/1859), Aḥmad b. Idrīs' closest student and founder of the Sanusiyya *ṭarīqa*, when he arrived in Mecca in 1241/1826. Muḥammad Yāsīn wrote at least one work, *ʿUnwān ahl al-ʿināya ʿalā kashf ghawāmiḍ al-nuqāya*, a gloss on al-Suyūṭī's *Itmām al-dirāya*.[157]

**Abū'l-Maḥāsin Muḥammad b. Khalīl (al-Mashīshī) al-Qāwuqjī al-Ṭarābulusī al-Shāmī al-Ḥanafī** {D} [d.1305/1888]

Possibly also known as Shams al-Dīn, he was born in 1225/1810, and was a hadith scholar, sufi and *faqīh*. He has been described as '*musnid bilād al-Shām*' ('the most important hadith transmitter of Greater Syria') of his time, and his chains occupied a pivotal role well into the 20th century in most of Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz. He transmitted from many scholars, including Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, al-Burhān al-Bājūrī and **Yāsīn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mīrghanī** (he wrote

a commentary on *al-Muʿjam al-wajīz* by ʿAbdallāh al-Mīrghanī).[158] A prolific writer, he produced some one hundred works, including many on hadith.[159] His *al-Ṭawr al-aghlā ʿalā al-wird al-musammā bi'l-Dawr al-aʿlā* was printed in Damascus, AH 1301.[160] Brocklemann also lists a commentary on *Ḥizb al-baḥr* entitled *Khulāṣat al-zahr ʿalā Ḥizb al-baḥr*.[161] Noteworthy, too, is his *Shawāriq al-anwār al-jalīya fī asānīd al-sāda al-Shādhilīya*, for al-Qāwuqjī was a Shadhili shaykh and founder of a sub-order of the *ṭarīqa* which seems to have taken his name.[162] He died in Mecca.[163]

## Chains and authorisations

The chains elucidated here are embedded in a vast web of interconnections among members of the *ahl al-ʿilm* (community of scholars) spanning the centuries of Islamic history, a network of personal contacts forming a highway along which authority, learning and *baraka* have travelled from the past into the future while criss-crossing the lands of Islam. Individuals sought out *ijāza*s through personal contact with shaykhs who had themselves acquired *ijāza*s through personal contact: the *ijāza* was thus in part 'an emblem of a bond to a shaykh'.[164] While it served the forging of connections to powerful men of the learned elite (those older and more knowledgeable), it also made possible the appropriation of some of their authority, and that of others in the associated chains of transmission. Finally, it acted as a vehicle for the acquisition and transmission of *baraka*, of which *ʿilm* or learning was one important form. The conferring of an *ijāza* thus admitted an individual to a particular scholarly and spiritual genealogy, and this was just as important as the precise identity and content of the work(s) transmitted (if indeed not more important in some circumstances). In general terms, the *mujīz* (granter of an authorisation) was the key to insertion into chains of transmission of *ʿilm* so highly valued that the resulting pedigrees rivalled blood-lines in importance.[165] This importance is reflected in the careful attention given to recording

and incorporating chains of transmission of texts, as in the case of the *Dawr*.

Turning to the plausibility of individual links within our chains and the *ijāza*s that underpin them, those links identified appear generally compatible with the chronology, known associations (especially relations with shaykhs and teachers) and geographical movements of the figures in question. Of particular interest are nine links underpinned by *ijāza*s conferred on young children who typically had not yet reached the age of reason.[166] In some cases, as set out above, we have reports of these children receiving *ijāza*s from the authorities in question in the company of their fathers (and in one case, of the father soliciting *ijāza*s specifically for them, another common practice).[167] Perhaps a 'child *ijāza*' stands up more successfully to scrutiny when the text concerned is a small prayer which children, accustomed to memorising Qur'an from an early age, could readily have committed to heart at the instigation of fathers eager to place them under its protection, and to acquire for them the potential benefits associated with the accompanying *ijāza* and chain.[168]

Insertion of an individual into one of our chains through an *ijāza* conferred on them the *baraka* of the line of transmission, intensifying the *baraka* of the prayer itself. It also brought them into ultimate contact with the prayer's author. It was not just a case of acquiring, committing to memory and inscribing on the heart the prayer text (itself undoubtedly *baraka* bearing and encompassing the 'perfect and complete' Word, as we shall see below), something which could be done from a written copy. Initiation into the prayer was thus as much a case of participating in the spiritual lineage anchored in its saintly author and transmitted through a living shaykh.[169] Moreover, it is likely that even into the modern period prayers like the *Dawr* were mainly experienced as oral performances rather than written texts, further underlining the importance of personal contact.

Regarding certain specifics of our chains, we might ask whether any of our figures appear in chains of transmission associated with other works by Ibn ʿArabī. Yahya lists a number of such chains which can be compared with the six examined here.[170] {E} from Ibn ʿArabī

through to al-Suyūṭī is repeated in four chains, viz. 2a (attached to RG 13a, *Akhbār mashāyikh al-Maghrib*; RG 30, *ʿAnqāʾ mughrib*; RG 38, *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīth*; RG 134, *al-Fatḥ al-Fāsī*; RG 135, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*; RG 150, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*; RG 336, *al-Kashf al-kullī* and RG 725, *al-Tafsīr*) and 6a, 6e and 6f (all three attached to RG 135, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*).[171] In like fashion, {F} from Ibn ʿArabī through to al-Qushāshī is repeated in chain 6d attached to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* (with the link between Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and al-Jabartī al-Zabīdī missing, viz., Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. al-Qaymānī al-Marāʿī) and from Ibn ʿArabī through to al-Shaʿrānī in chain 6c attached to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* with the same omission. The missing chain of authorities linking al-Qushāshī back to Ibn ʿArabī in {B} and {C} as elaborated in {F} is thus mostly corroborated by Yahya's 6d i.[172] Chains 6a, b, c, d, e and f (all attached to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*) all culminate in the grandson of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl (see {E}). Finally, several well-known links appearing in our chains reappear in those listed in Yahya: these include Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ({A}; Yahya's 6b and 6d ii) and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī ~ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī ({A}; Yahya's 6d).

Referred to briefly above, al-Qushāshī's chain of transmission from Ibn ʿArabī stands out for the important place it occupies on our chain map, for his status, and for his association with the prayer in a further copy, where its attribution to Ibn ʿArabī and a description of its properties are given on his authority.[173] Al-Tāfilātī {B} and al-Dāmūnī {C} both refer to this chain without elaboration using the phrase *bi-sanadihi al-muttaṣil ilā [Ibn ʿArabī]* ('through his chain of transmission going back to [Ibn ʿArabī]'), implying perhaps that it was very well known at the time.[174] (It is noteworthy that the *silsila* of the *khirqa akbarīya* as given by al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī also connects al-Qushāshī to Ibn ʿArabī without elaboration.)[175] {F} provides an indication of one chain from Ibn ʿArabī to al-Qushāshī, while {D} provides an alternative through Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī.[176]

More than five generations after Ibn ʿArabī's death, key geographical foci in the routes of the prayer mapped through the chains are the Hijaz (Mecca and Medina); Syria (Damascus); Egypt (Cairo);

and Palestine (Jerusalem). Two 17th–18th century figures who served as a nexus between different geographical centres through their travels are Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī {B} and Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī {A/B/C}.[177] Al-Budayrī connected the influential Hijazi centre[178] with Cairo (where al-Ḥifnāwī studied under him), and with Jerusalem (where Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī studied under him). Al-Bakrī, too, connected Damascus and Cairo (as well as Jerusalem), but without the direct Hijazi link:[179] born in 1688 CE, al-Bakrī's link to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d.1689 CE) in {C} should most likely be ruled out in favour of an omission, probably of the latter's son Ilyās, with whom al-Bakrī studied in Damascus. It is noteworthy that al-Tāfilātī apparently first acquired the prayer from al-Ḥifnāwī during his early sojourn in Cairo, making it possible for him to transmit it during his extensive travels thereafter. Such figures often formed part of very extensive scholar networks, through which the prayer may well have been transmitted into more distant regions of the Islamic world.[180]

A strong Naqshbandi or Khalwati association is evident among the figures in our chains from the 17th century,[181] but for many of them multiple *ṭarīqa* affiliations were the norm, especially prior to the 18th or 19th centuries. The prayer was thus used alongside liturgical and devotional prescriptions associated with particular *ṭarīqa* affiliations, whether multiple or single. Prayers attributed to the eponymous founders of *ṭarīqa*s have found a natural constituency among those affiliated to these *ṭarīqa*s, where they have also been routinely recited in collective rituals. Indeed the emergence of an independent *ṭarīqa* from an existing one has often been accompanied by the composition of new *aḥzāb* (pl. of *ḥizb*).[182] Although not associated exclusively with any particular *ṭarīqa*, the saintly stature of the *Dawr*'s author appears to have secured its circulation and use within many different *ṭarīqa*s.

## *Windows onto Islamic culture and thought*

How can the chains discussed here, which encompass several major figures of Islamic scholarship and *taṣawwuf*, illuminate trends in historical Islamic culture and thought? Alongside those who may be described as non-reformist (and who appear to have been uncompromising in their defence of sufi culture, including its more controversial elements), it is noteworthy that these figures also feature ulama of reformist orientation, those critical of aspects of the prevailing religious–cultural milieu and the existing order. Some sought to contain sufi 'excesses' by reasserting the interdependence of spheres of *taṣawwuf* and shariʿa, and addressed other aspects of the dominant culture by emphasising the primacy of the Qur'an and Sunna as the ultimate framework for religious understanding and the source of shariʿa. Such ulama often expressed appreciation for the reformist legacy of Ibn Taymīya (d.1328), and their positions evince salafi tendencies, whether in matters of *kalām* or *fiqh*, attitudes towards *madhhab* affiliation, or the emphasis of hadith scholarship as a means to reassert scriptural primacy, for example. Focusing on such figures in the chains serves to highlight the complex, overlapping identities of historical Islamic culture, which could contemplate a profound commitment to sufism (including the embrace of *waḥdat al-wujūd*) alongside a *salafi-inspired* reformist outlook (the latter dimension being at times underreported in the context of Ibn ʿArabī studies). While its content presents no specific doctrinal problem, the use and transmission of the prayer by such figures nonetheless furnishes evidence of their conviction of its author's importance (and saintly status), underlining an inclusive commitment to his legacy upheld in tandem with salafi tendencies.

In the 9$^{th}$/15$^{th}$ century, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's association with the prayer is noteworthy in the light of his ambivalence towards Ibn ʿArabī, and his favourable view of Ibn Taymīya.[183] His reservations concerning the prayer's author, such as they were, did not invalidate for him the *baraka* that flowed from use of it, received through a chain

directly from its author. In the 10th/16th century ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī's association with the prayer is noteworthy when viewed not in terms of his capacity as an apologist for Ibn ʿArabī, but as the first in a long line of late reformist or salafi-oriented sufi ulama, followed in the 11th–12th/17th–18th centuries by the highly influential al-Qushāshī (heir to al-Shaʿrānī's legacy) and especially his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and the latter's students of the next generation. As in al-Kūrānī's case, a number of these later sufi-salafi ulama re-interpreted *waḥdat al-wujūd*, in its capacity as the most controversial aspect of sufi doctrine, to make it conform to Islamic orthodoxy. At the same time, they evinced a rising interest in Ibn Taymīya's intellectual legacy (following its virtual eclipse by the mid-14th century with the rise to dominance of *taṣawwuf* allied with Ashʿari theology),[184] and thus perhaps contributed to a re-emergence or revival of the salafi school from the late 17th century.[185] In the 13th/19th century, the two al-Jundīs, father and son, can finally be mentioned. The former was a follower of the shariʿa-minded reformist Naqshbandi Shaykh Khālid, who had called for returning to the Qur'an and Sunna, yet read the works of Ibn ʿArabī and felt a spiritual affinity with him.[186] Muḥammad Amīn al-Jundī the son was a reformist *ʿālim* in his own right and also a close associate of the Amir ʿAbd al-Qādir (whose own reformist tendencies and shariʿa-minded, scripturalist sufism combined with a devotion to Ibn ʿArabī have been widely noted, and whose ulama followers launched the Salafi reform movement in Syria).[187]

The blending of sufi and salafi thought is thus illustrated by several of the figures associated with the prayer, both in pre-modern and modern periods. Within this blend, which itself became increasingly significant for later reformists or 'revivalists', it was salafism that came to prominence under the conditions and pressures of modernity.[188] Were it possible to map the continuation of the chains discussed here across the 20th century, it would be of interest to ascertain the orientations of new links in terms of this framework, and in particular to discover whether any who avail themselves of the prayer's *baraka* can be counted as contemporary salafis, seeking

inspiration in Ibn Taymīya's legacy.[189] A defining aspect in the self-appropriation of the 'salafi' banner in the modern world has of course been a powerful anti-sufism, in which Ibn ʿArabī's legacy looms large. This is not the whole story, however. Through the inclusive tendencies of some of the most eminent historical figures of *ʿilm* and *taṣawwuf* associated with it, this small prayer of Ibn ʿArabī points up with striking clarity the anomalous character of the uncompromising salafi–sufi dichotomy perpetuated in some contemporary Muslim circles.

# *Notes*

**1.** The Turkish collections offer what is arguably the most important manuscript base for the works of Ibn ʿArabī in general. We have supplemented the specific Suleymaniye collection, the largest by far, with copies from the following Turkish libraries: University of Istanbul Library Collection, Ulu Cami (Bursa), Genel (Inebey, Bursa), Beyazid (Istanbul), Mevlana Museum (Konya), Ankara Milli. Relating to the Suleymaniye collection, the following errors in Osman Yahya, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī* (Damascus, 1964), 1, p. 294 (RG 244) can be pointed out. Düğümlü Baba 4146 and 4137 and Esad Efendi 4036 are unrecognisable numbers; Düğümlü Baba 194, Haci Mahmud Efendi 461 and Esad Efendi 1330 are irrelevant. Şehid Ali Paşa 2796 is a fragment of the *Awrād* that sometimes appears described as *Istighātha* but here is described as *Ḥizb* al-Shaykh al-Akbar. Note also that Ulu Cami 954 (Bursa) is irrelevant.

**2.** All of the copies surveyed here are thus relatively late. It may well be that earlier copies can be uncovered: Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, p. 294 lists those in Damascus, Cairo, Rabat, Paris and Berlin not examined in this study and apparently undated.

**3.** For details of four of these which have chains of transmission attached and a fifth without, see Appendix. The remaining two, both in Ottoman Turkish, are as follows: (i) ʿAlī al-Waṣfī b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī (Haci Mahmud Efendi 4217, detailed commentary on individual words and phrases fols. 1a–94a; the text of the prayer is repeated with further comments verse by verse fols. 99b–110a), dated AH 1261. (ii) Anonymous (Haci Reşid Bey 104), undated, 20 fols. For additional copies of some of the commentaries referred to here and further commentaries on the prayer held in collections outside of Turkey, see Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, pp. 294–295.

It has been suggested that the first sustained systematic commentary on a sufi prayer is that composed by Dā'ūd Ibn Bākhilā (d.733/1332) on al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-baḥr*. See Richard J. A. McGregor, *Sanctity and Sainthood in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn ʿArabī* (Albany, NY, 2004), pp. 34–35.

**4.** Other examples include Haci Mahmud Efendi 4141 (dated AH 1275), Yazma Bağişlar 2180 (undated and followed by a *wird* attributed to Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAydarūs and an untitled anonymous supplication), A 5705 [University of Istanbul Library] (dated 1793 CE and followed by a prayer by Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and a *ṣalawāt* attributed to Ibn ʿArabī: see below), A 4344 [University of Istanbul Library] (dated AH 1318, each line surrounded by a gold-leaf border, with only eight lines per page) and Nafiz Paşa 702, on which see note 6 below.

**5.** For example, I. Note that Ankara Milli 489 binds together the *Dawr* (as part of an undated hand) with works by Ibn ʿArabī (e.g. *R. al-Alif*, *Mashāhid al-asrār*, *K. al-Bā'*) in several hands.

**6.** Examples include G, K (*Ṣalawāt kubrā*), M, Şazeli 106 (*Istighātha*, *Awrād*, *Ṣalawāt kubrā*), Esad Efendi 1330 (*Ṣalāt sharīfa*), A 5705 [University of Istanbul

Library] (*Ṣalawāt sharīfa*), Nafiz Paşa 702 (an undated compilation of the *Awrād* and the *Dawr*), Genel 43 (*Awrād* dated AH 1179, copy made in Damascus) and Arif-Murad 58 (printed, undated, encompassing the *Awrād*). Şazeli 106 encompasses the date AH 1139. Esad Efendi 1330 is dated from AH 1194 to 1219.

**7.** For example, M. Note that Esad Efendi 1330 includes prayers by al-Nawawī, al-Shādhilī and Ibn Mashīsh. Esad Efendi 267 (undated) encompasses a treatise on the names of the Prophet and one on the names of his Companions who were at Badr, plus a commentary on a prayer by al-Shādhilī. Şazeli 106 encompasses prayers by al-Shādhilī, al-Nawawī, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, al-Shāfiʿī, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Maʿrūf Karkhī, Imām ʿAlī and supplications of the prophets. L encompasses among others the protective prayer of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb. Genel 43 has *Ḥizb al-naṣr* by al-Shādhilī and others; Arif-Murad adds *Ḥizb al-baḥr* of al-Shādhilī, *al-Ṣalawāt al-munjīya* and other short prayers.

**8.** Şazeli 157 (undated), for example, includes prayers and prayer-commentaries, poems and works by Ismaʿil Hakki Bursevi (including a commentary on the prayer of Ibn Mashīsh), Sari ʿAbdullah Efendi (including *Maslak al-ʿushshāq*) and Nawaʿi Efendi (parts of a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*).

**9.** Examples are J, F, and Haci Mahmud Efendi 6287 (possibly dated AH 1252), the latter by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Mawṣilī al-Jīlī. See also Beyazid 7880 (undated), Esad Efendi 3674 (possibly dated AH 1203 or before).

**10**. The copying of texts was often done out of a desire for benefit or *baraka*, out of love for the author, or as a means whereby the copyist endeavoured to bring themselves into the living or dead author's presence. For examples relating to devotees of Ibn ʿArabī who copied his works after his death, see Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 144. Some believed that copying had a talismanic power bringing spiritual benefit: Chamberlain cites the example of Ibn al-Jawzī, who requested that after his death all the pens with which he had copied hadith should be gathered and heated in water, which was to be used to wash his corpse. Comparing *ʿilm* with prayer, some writers urged copyists to carry out their work only when in a state of ritual ablution. See ibid. p. 136.

**11**. On the general notion of *sanad*, literally a support or stay, applied to the chain of authorities that validates transmitted knowledge, see 'Sanad', $EI^2$, Supplement 9–10, p. 702 (for the related term *isnād* [pl. *asānīd*] applied in the context of hadith transmission, see 'Isnad', $EI^2$, 4, p. 207). In setting out their chains of transmission, some of our sources explicitly use the term *sanad*. Within the chains, some use the verbs *akhadha ʿan* and *rawā ʿan* (to take/transmit from) and others *ajāza* (to grant permission, reflecting the fact that an *ijāza* underpins each link in a chain).

**12**. A seventh chain attached to the prayer (and the *Awrād*) is recorded in Yahya, *Histoire*, 2, p. 540 (no. 1, attached to RG 16a) and discussed in Ibn ʿArabī, *The Seven Days of the Heart*, pp. 174–175. While we do not discuss this chain here we would point to the fact that the transmitter from Ibn ʿArabī died in AH 727: this suggests a possible 'child *ijāza*' (on which see below). G, apparently its original source, has been the

basis of a number of printings (Haci Mahmud Efendi 4179, Düğümlü Baba 490 and 489, for example).

**13**. Biographical notes provided here vary in length depending on how well known a figure is, the availability of information and the accessibility of sources: detail is provided when this is of interest or relevance to our focus and/or is not readily accessible to the non-Arabist.

**14**. For a fascinating glimpse of the cultural and social context within which the significance and operation of the *ijāza* can be properly understood (as played out in late 12th to mid-14th century CE Damascus), see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, ch. 4. The author points to the prestige attached to scholarly pedigrees in the form of chains of transmission, and the concern of the learned elite to emphasise them as an integral part of their strategies of social survival, advanced through cultural practices associated with knowledge. The same emphasis is reflected in the production of the *mashyakha* or *muʿ jam* literature, a genre listing the shaykhs an individual had studied with or heard hadith from.

Of our chains, {A} and {E} are associated with an *ijāza* in which the transmitter grants permission to a specific individual to read the prayer, thus perpetuating the chain. *Ijāza*s addressed to a specific individual arise also in Haci Mahmud Efendi 4141 (fol. 9a, dated AH 1275) and in Esad Efendi 1442 (fol. 52a, undated). In the latter case it encompasses the *Awrād* as well as the *Dawr* and is granted to Muḥammad Rafīʿ Efendi by Muḥammad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Baghdādī, who describes himself as *khādim niʿāl al-sāda al-Qādirīya*, and has added the *Dawr* and *ijāza* at the end of this copy of *K. al-Rashaḥāt al-anwarīya fī sharḥ al-awrād al-akbarīya*: on the margin of the *Awrād*, the latter is by Ḥasan al-Kurdī. According to Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen litteratur* (Leiden, 1943–49) [hereafter '*GAL*'], II, pp. 453, 473, Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Kurdī al-Qādirī al-Bānī al-ʿAlawānī al-Jīlānī al-Kūrānī al-Naqshbandī (d.1148/1735) also wrote *Risāla fī qawl al-Shaykh al-Akbar wa qawl al-Jīlī* and *Risāla fī anna ʿ ilm Allāh muḥīṭ bi-nafsihi am lā*. Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, p. 289 records him as author of a commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's *K. al-Ḥikam* (RG 233).

**15**. See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. Ihsan Abbas (Beirut, 1968), II, p. 170. For further biographical references, his inclusion in *samāʿ*s and a discussion of the possible identity of his mother (Khātūn Maryam bint Muḥammad, known as Umm al-Jawbān: Saʿd al-Dīn was apparently also known as al-Jawbān and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn), see Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur: The Life of Ibn ʿArabī* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 265 n. 118, 86–87, 228; Stephen Hirtenstein, *The Unlimited Mercifier* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 261–62 n.30; also p. 182.

**16**. See Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Dhayl ʿalā al-ʿ ibar fī khabar man ʿabar*, ed. Salih al-Mahdi ʿAbbas (Beirut, 1989), 2, p. 527. On him see also ʿAbd al-Hayy b. ʿAbd al-Kabir al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris wa'l-athbāt wa muʿ jam al-maʿājim wa'l-mashyakhāt wa'l-musalsalāt*, ed. Ihsan ʿAbbas (Beirut, 1982–86), p. 431; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh al-Islām*, ed. Mazin b. Salim al-Bawazir (Riyadh, 1998), p. 202.

The Maqām Ibrāhīm is the (site of) the miraculous stone on which Ibrāhīm is

believed to have stood while building the Kaʿba, and which bears his footprints. Through the revelation of Q 2: 125, the Prophet established the site as a place of prayer (Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl had reportedly prayed there when they had completed their work of building). In early Islam, the stone was encased in a wooden box and raised on a platform, usually locked inside the Kaʿba. Today it stands in a glass encasement about twenty cubits from the Kaʿba, and pilgrims perform two prayer cycles as close as possible behind it. See 'Maqam Ibrahim', EI$^2$, 6, pp. 104–107.

**17**. On the family see Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh (Amīn) al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (Cairo, 1284), 2, pp. 461–462.

**18**. See Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-mi'a al-thāmina*, ed. Muhammad Sayyid Jadd al-Haqq (Cairo, 1966), 1, p. 56.

**19**. At times alongside his brother, al-Ṣafī al-Ṭabarī: for these examples, see Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Dhayl ʿalā al-ʿibar*, index. See also al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 1, p. 56.

It may appear that Raḍī al-Dīn was born too late to have transmitted directly from Ibn ʿArabī (who died when he was four years old), but the possibility of such a link in the form of a 'child *ijāza*' (perhaps through the agency of his father or another male relative) cannot be ruled out: on such *ijāza*s see below.

We must mention the possibility that instead of the figure identified here, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī might be the Shafiʿi mufti and member of the same family Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (d.694) listed by Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, p. 133 as a defender of Ibn ʿArabī. There is no evidence that the latter was known as Raḍī al-Dīn/al-Raḍī, however. Other members of the important al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī family appear later in chain {D}.

It is noteworthy that Ibn ʿArabī had encountered the previous imam of the Maqām Ibrāhīm during a visit to Mecca in AH 598, in the person of the father of Niẓām, Shaykh Abū Shujāʿ Ẓāhir b. Rustam al-Iṣfahānī (d.609/1212), from whom he received an *ijāza* for Tirmidhī's collection of hadith. See Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, pp. 209–210; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *The Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*, ed. Reynold A. Nicholson (London, 1978), p. 3.

**20**. See 'Ibn ʿAsakir', EI$^2$, 3, pp. 713–715. Ibn ʿArabī himself listed another figure called al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir among his own hadith instructors, who died in 600/1203. See Alexander Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany, NY, 1999), p. 334 n. 118.

**21**. Yahya, *Histoire*, RG 484. See A3320 [University of Istanbul Library], fol. 17a. Note that this *ijāza* including Ibn ʿAsākir is not recorded in *Histoire*, 2, p. 393. The same work arises in Halet Efendi 245, where it appears under a different title, *R. al-Ḥurūf bi'l-manẓūmāt*: fol. 260b records him transmitting the work through an *ijāza* from Ibn ʿArabī, and fol. 271a records him receiving an *ijāza* for it from Ibn ʿArabī and from his son ʿImād al-Dīn.

**22**. See Yahya, *Histoire*, 2, p. 540, chain 6b.

**23**. See Esad Efendi 1413, frontispiece. The author thanks Stephen Hirtenstein for this and manuscript information above relating to Ibn ʿAsākir.

**24**. See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 221: see also p. 581.

**25**. On him see EI[2], 2, p. 292; Georges Vajda, ed., *Le Dictionnaire des autorités de ʿAbd al-Mu'min al-Dimyati* (Paris, 1962). For a list of his writings, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 88; Sup. II, p. 79.

**26**. See Vajda, ed., *Le Dictionnaire des autorités*, p. 12.

**27**. Ibid., p. 123. He does not appear in the index of *samāʿ*s, however.

**28**. See Yahya, *Histoire*, 2, p. 540, chains 6c and d.

**29**. See Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 320.

**30**. Such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī: see al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 645; also pp. 638, 997.

**31**. For examples of his students, teaching and transmissions, see al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh al-Islām*, pp. 152, 409, 455, 369; al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 3, p. 163.

**32**. The full name given here follows that in Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Dhayl ʿalā al-ʿibar*, 2, p. 492: the author also spells the name al-Ḥarrāwī, while all other sources do not double the r (we follow this majority position here). ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Cairo, 1351), 6, p. 272 gives as his full name Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Idrīs al-Ḥarāwī {al-Ṭabardār}. Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 4, p. 216 gives it as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Idrīs al-Dimyāṭī al-Ḥarāwī {Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭabardār}. None of these refer to him as 'Abū Ṭalḥa' or as 'al-Zāhid'. Al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 319 mentions 'Abū Ṭalḥa al-Ḥarāwī al-Zāhid' and p. 549 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥarāwī (Nāṣir al-Dīn), evidently the same person. Note that the name is spelled differently in all three appearances in chains in Yahya, *Histoire*, 2, pp. 540–541 (as Ṭalḥa al-Ḥarrāwī, Abū Ṭalḥa al-Kharrāwī, and Abū Ṭalḥa al-Ḥarrawī).

**33**. For the former see Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Dhayl ʿalā al-ʿibar*, 2, p. 492 and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, p. 272. For the latter see al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 4, p. 216.

**34**. See Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Dhayl ʿalā al-ʿibar*, 2, pp. 492–493; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, p. 272.

**35**. See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 319 and 549. This gives, respectively, Abū Ṭalḥa al-Ḥarāwī al-Zāhid and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥarāwī transmitting (p. 319 Ibn ʿArabī's works specifically) from Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī, and to Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī.

**36**. Al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 1, p. 11 gives his full name as Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. Saʿīd b. Kāmil b. ʿAlwān al-Tanūkhī.

**37**. In each case al-ʿAsqalānī describes his contribution through the expression *takhrīj*. In relation to works of hadith this typically means 'to quote, publish or give the *isnād*' of a hadith. (It may also indicate 'bringing out' the implications of hadith for the rules of *fiqh*, encompassing an explanation of use and shortness of associated chains of transmission, and making for easy identification of hadith relevant to specific subjects.) See Roy Mottahedeh, Review of Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95: 3 (1975), p. 492.

**38**. See further al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 220–222, 1014, index; al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 1, pp. 11–12.

**39**. On him see Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī*, pp. 226, 237; idem, 'Ibn ʿArabī in the Yemen: His Admirers and Detractors', *JMIAS* XI (1992), pp. 44 ff; for detailed sources discussing his biography and work, p. 59 n. 35.

**40**. See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 553, 110–111. The name al-Murshidī may refer to one of his ancestors or Munyat Rashid, an Egyptian village. Note the appearance of al-Murshidī in a chain relating to the *Ḥizb* of al-Nawawī: p. 1144.

**41**. On him see EI$^2$, 3, pp. 776–778.

**42**. Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī*, pp. 26, 135.

**43**. Ibid., pp. 128–129; see also chs. 5, 8; idem, Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition, in S. Hirtenstein and M. Tiernan, eds., *Muḥyīddin Ibn ʿArabī: A Commemorative Volume* (Shaftesbury, 1993), pp. 308, 313. Similarly, Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, pp. 130, 134 includes Ibn Ḥajar both among the mufti defenders *and* opponents of Ibn ʿArabī.

**44**. See Basheer M. Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform in Pre-Modern Islamic Culture: In Search of Ibrahim al-Kurani', *Die Welt des Islams* 42: 3 (2002), p. 329. Cf. idem, 'Abu al-Thana' al-Alusi: An ʿAlim, Ottoman Mufti, and Exegetist of the Qur'an', *IJMES* 34 (2002), p. 466.

By the term salafi we refer here to a view of Islam shaped by the defining principles of the legacy of Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya (d.1328), whose vision of Islam represented an attempt to restore the pristine faith as understood and practised by the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ* or righteous forefathers of the Islamic community. These principles served to reinstate the ultimate authority of the original Islamic texts against the accumulated Islamic tradition, to protect *tawḥīd*, uphold the absence of contradiction between revelation and reason, and establish the unity of the community. Ibn Taymīya's call to return to a direct understanding of the Qur'an and hadith was in opposition to the invocation of Greek philosophical concepts/tools by Ashʿari and Muʿtazili theological schools (which threatened to undermine the proper relationship of reason to revelation). It was also set against unreserved following of the opinions of the *madhāhib* (legal school) founders through *taqlīd*. He rejected sectarian and *madhhab*-based divisions and denounced the excesses of popular *taṣawwuf* and the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* for its threatened undermining of *tawḥīd* and divine transcendence. Given its reformist thrust, this legacy was eventually to become a major source of inspiration for those Sunni ulama who sought to challenge the dominant culture of Ashʿarism and to reform aspects of sufi belief and practice. For a concise introduction to Ibn Taymīya's thought and legacy, see Itzchak Weismann, *Taste of Modernity: Sufism, Salafiyya and Arabism in Late Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 263–268. See further Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki al-Din Ahmad b. Taimiya* (Cairo, 1939).

**45**. Al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 319, 554.

**46**. Ibid., pp. 617, 554.

**47**. On Hanbali *faqīh* al-Fakhr Ibn al-Bukhārī (Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b.

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī, AH 596–690), see ibid., pp. 633–634. On his importance as a hadith transmitter by virtue of his 'high' chain, see pp. 588, 947, 1013.

**48**. See for example ibid., p. 991.

**49**. Ibid., p. 549. For further accounts of Muḥammad b. Muqbil transmitting to al-Suyūṭī, see pp. 627, 634.

**50**. On the father see ibid., p. 270.

**51**. Ibid., p. 910 ff.

**52**. Ibid., pp. 617, 911.

**53**. Ibid., pp. 110–111, 669.

**54**. Ibid., p. 669; *al-Taysīr bi-tarājim al-Ṭabarīyīn* is also known as *al-Tabyīn fī tarājim al-Ṭabarīyīn*: see al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 2, p. 457.

**55**. On him see EI$^2$, 9, pp. 913–916; for details concerning his contribution to the late 9$^{th}$-century AH debate concerning Ibn ʿArabī's teachings see Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī*, pp. 79–81, 119–120, 213, 223. Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, p. 134 lists him among the defenders of Ibn ʿArabī. See also Knysh, Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition, pp. 312, 316–317.

**56**. Al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 1014.

**57**. See also ibid. p. 853.

**58**. Ibid., pp. 755–756.

**59**. See ibid., pp. 619, 755.

**60**. Ibid., pp. 755–756, 677, 684.

**61**. See ibid. pp. 756, 1125, 853, also 958–959.

**62**. See Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-aʿyān al-mi'a al-ʿāshira*, ed. Jibrail S. Jabbur (Harissa, Lebanon, 1959), 1, pp. 197–198.

**63**. See Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Shaʿrani* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1982), pp. 54–55; EI$^2$, 11, p. 406. For autobiographical accounts transmitted from Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī to al-Shaʿrānī and other accounts related by al-Shaʿrānī concerning him, see for example al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, 1, pp. 196–198, 200–201. His early reputation for a love of the sufis, for attending their *dhikr* sessions and studying their works, had led his peers to suggest that he would be 'no use' as a *faqīh*: when he went on to excel in the exoteric sciences, some of them became jealous. See ibid., pp. 198, 200.

**64**. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, 1, p. 202.

**65**. See ibid., pp. 203–204 (as al-Ghazzī puts it, 'He understood through *dhawq* {spiritual 'taste'} the words of the folk, and would explain what the people of the way said in the most perfect way, providing excellent answers concerning this if part of it appeared ambiguous to people.'); Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī*, p. 212; Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Farid, His Verse and His Shrine* (Columbia, SC, 1994), pp. 69–73; Winter, *Society and Religion*, pp. 163–164. Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, p. 134 lists him among the defenders of Ibn ʿArabī.

**66**. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, 1, p. 199.

**67**. Ibid., p. 202.

**68**. Al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 319.

**69**. Also spelled Shaʿrāwī: see Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 441.

**70**. See for example Knysh, Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition, p. 311; Winter, *Society and Religion*, pp. 165–172. The 'deliberate interpolation' hypothesis was a historical stratagem used in Islamic culture to deal with difficulties presented by certain texts from the perspective of 'orthodoxy'. It was used to exonerate Ibn ʿArabī, for example, by casting doubt on the attribution of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* to him in its extant form, on the grounds that specific problematic statements had been inserted into the text.

**71**. Winter, *Society and Religion*, p. 55.

**72**. See EI$^2$, 9, p. 316. On him see further Winter, *Society and Religion*.

**73**. See for example David Commins, *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria* (New York and Oxford, 1990), p. 50; for his attitude towards the *madhāhib* and *madhhab* affiliation see Winter, *Society and Religion*, pp. 224, 236–241.

**74**. See Nafi, 'Abu al-Thana' al-Alusi', p. 489 n. 7.

**75**. See Winter, *Society and Religion*, p. 57; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, 1, pp. 97–98.

**76**. Winter, *Society and Religion*, pp. 99, 139–140. This was the only one of his many shaykhs to give him such authorisation. Al-Shaʿrānī expressly referred to al-Shinnāwī as al-Aḥmadī. Several of his other shaykhs were also Aḥmadīs, associated with the Ahmadiyya, 'the order of Aḥmad al-Badawī': ibid., p. 98. More commonly known as the Badawiyya, this is characterised by a popular cult centred on al-Badawī, his *mawlid* and his tomb in Tanta, Egypt. For al-Shaʿrānī's accounts of al-Shinnāwī conversing with al-Badawī at the latter's tomb see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, 1, p. 98.

**77**. Winter, *Society and Religion*, pp. 99, 138.

**78**. This was Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Iskandarī al-Mazzī. The account here draws on al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, 3, pp. 3–10.

**79**. See Barbara Rosenow von Schlegell, *Sufism in the Ottoman Arab World: Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d.1143/1731)*, PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1997, p. 29.

**80**. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 514.

**81**. See al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 1, p. 244; Martin van Bruinessen, 'Origins and Development of the Sufi Orders (*tarekat*) in Southeast Asia', *Studia Islamika* (Jakarta) 1: 1 (1994); idem, 'Shariʿa Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Sultanate of Banten', *Archipel* 50 (1995), p. 179. On Ṣibghatallāh (d.1015/1606–07), see Atallah S. Copty, 'The Naqshbandiyya and its Offshoot, the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Haramayn in the 11$^{th}$/17$^{th}$ Century', *Die Welt des Islams* 43: 3 (2003), p. 323. He had received Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine (which he propagated in the Haramayn) from his shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī (d.1609), an 'outstanding advocate' of Ibn ʿArabī and his doctrine in India. See further Khaled El-Rouayheb, 'Opening the Gate of Verification: The Forgotten Arab-Islamic Florescence of the 17th Century', *IJMES* 38 (2006), pp. 271; 247 n. 51.

**82**. See John O. Voll, 'ʿAbdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri and 18th Century Hadith Scholarship', *Die Welt des Islams* 42: 3 (2002), p. 367.

**83**. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 514. He also wrote *Risāla fī waḥdat al-wujūd*: see al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 1, p. 244.

**84**. This paragraph is based on al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 2, pp. 457–464.

**85**. On his teachers see Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar wa qaṭf al-thamar min tarājim aʿyān al-ṭabaqa al-ūlā min al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, ed. Mahmud al-Shaykh (Damascus, 1981), 1, pp. 31–36. Particular mention should be made of his shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yūnus al-ʿĪthāwī, Shafiʿi mufti.

**86**. See ʿAbd al-Razzaq al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar fī taʾrīkh al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar* (Beirut, 1993/1961), 1, p. 153; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, 1, pp. xi–xxi. For further details of his posts see al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar*, 1, pp. 45–55.

**87**. See al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar*, 1, p. 97.

**88**. See von Schlegell, *Sufism*, pp. 32, 43, 78; Zuhayr Khalil al-Burqawi, *ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī wa taṣawwufuhu* (Amman, 2003), p. 95.

**89**. Al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar*, 1, p. 96; Muḥammad Khalīl b. ʿAlī al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar* (Cairo, 1301), 1, p. 5; Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', p. 321.

**90**. For his works in this field see al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar*, 1, pp. 108–111.

**91**. See al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 4, p. 199.

**92**. Ibid., p. 200; see also al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-samar*, 1, p. 84.

**93**. John O. Voll, 'Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi and Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-century Madina', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38: 1 (1975), pp. 32–33 indicates something of al-Qushāshī's importance to 18th-century Medinan ulama circles based on intellectual lineages among them leading back to him.

**94**. See ibid., p. 34. Editor of the six major Sunni collections of hadith and described by al-Jabartī as 'the seal of hadith scholars', al-Baṣrī was a teacher of Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī. On him see Voll, 'ʿAbdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri', pp. 356–372.

**95**. See Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', pp. 312–320.

**96**. Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 1, p. 345.

**97**. See EI2, 5, pp. 525–526. On Singkel see below. Note that al-Qushāshī was centrally involved in the polemic engaged with Sirhindī's *khalīfa* Ādam al-Banūrī during meetings in Medina on specific points of doctrine as interpreted by Ādam. See Copty, 'The Naqshbandiyya', pp. 332–337.

**98**. Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 135–136; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 1, p. 345.

**99**. *'mazj al-ḥaqāʾiq biʾl-aḥādīth al-nabawīya'* as described in al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 971.

**100**. See Voll, 'ʿAbdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri', p. 368.

**101**. See Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', p. 314 (and for further detailed sources on al-Qushāshī, see p. 312 n. 10–13); cf. al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 971.

**102**. Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 2, pp. 195–196. Voll, 'Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi', p. 33 n. 8 mentions him in passing among a group of teachers in 18th-century Medina. His brother ʿAlī (d.1070/1659–60) was imam and Hanafi mufti at the Ḥaram (Sanctuary) in Mecca. See Copty, 'The Naqshbandiyya', pp. 330–331.

**103**. See al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 1, p. 345.

**104**. For a detailed overview of his education, see Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', pp. 321 ff.

**105**. Voll, 'Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi', p. 34.

**106**. See Alexander Knysh, 'Ibrahim al-Kurani (d.1101/1690), An Apologist for *waḥdat al-wujūd*', *JRAS* Series 3, 5: 1 (1999), p. 46.

**107**. Martin van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish ʿUlama and their Indonesian Disciples', at http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/Kurdish_ulama_Indonesia.htm, 20pp: pp. 4–5. On his stature see further El-Rouayheb, 'Opening the Gate', p. 274.

**108**. Knysh, 'Ibrahim al-Kurani', p. 45. Van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish ʿUlama', p. 5 describes the mature al-Kūrānī as 'the leading representative of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrines in Medina and perhaps throughout the entire Muslim world.'

**109**. Singkel became particularly close to al-Kūrānī, who gave him an *ijāza* to teach the Shattariyya *ṭarīqa*. He was the first to introduce the *ṭarīqa* to Indonesia, establishing it there as a moderate force as part of a broader reconciliation of mystics and legalists, and was thus a major influence on the revival of orthodox sufism, combined with shariʿa, in Sumatra. See van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish ʿUlama', p. 4; Voll, 'Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi', p. 39; idem, 'ʿAbdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri', p. 370; Anthony Johns, Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems and Perspectives, in C. D. Cowan and O. W. Walters, eds., *Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Presented to D. G. E. Hall* (Ithaca, NY, 1976), pp. 314–319.

**110**. Van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish ʿUlama', p. 5; Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', pp. 334 ff. On al-Kūrānī's role in transmitting hadith via the Yemeni Mizjaji family, see John O. Voll, Linking Groups in the Networks of Eighteenth Century Revivalist Scholars: The Mizjaji Family in Yemen, in Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Islamic Renewal and Reform* (Syracuse, NY, 1987), p. 76.

**111**. Al-Kūrānī responded himself and also asked his student Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Barzanjī to respond. The latter wrote two treatises (dated 1682 and 1683) severely criticising Sirhindī: these were endorsed by leading ulama of the Hijaz, who agreed unanimously that Sirhindī's ideas amounted to serious deviation. (It is unlikely, however, that al-Kūrānī would have agreed that Sirhindī be labelled an unbeliever [*kāfir*]: see Copty, 'The Naqshbandiyya', pp. 338–345, which also illuminates the political context of the Indian request for a fatwa, and the interests of the Sharif of Mecca in his relations with the Mughal ruler.) Many more works of the same kind appear to have been written in the context of this controversy over Sirhindī's views: see further Yohanan Freidmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of his Thought*

*and a Study of his Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal and London, 1971), pp. 7–8, 96–97; Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, II (New Delhi, 1983); van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish ʿUlama', p. 5.

On Sirhindī, who projected himself as the renovator of the second millennium and sought to replace the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* with that of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, mounting a comprehensive reformist challenge to the *ṭarīqa*s aimed at reconciling *taṣawwuf* with the shariʿa and reinstating the centrality of the Sunna, see further Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari, *Sufism and Shariʿah: A Study of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's Efforts to Reform Sufism* (Leicester, 1986).

Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', pp. 324–235, 247 points out that when al-Kūrānī joined the Naqshbandiyya through al-Qushāshī this was *not* through the Sirhindī line: later in his career, however, his students were initiated through this line.

**112**. See Basheer M. Nafi, 'He was a Teacher of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab: Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi and the Revival of the Traditionist Methodology', unpublished paper. Voll, 'ʿAbdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri', p. 366 suggests that his approach to hadith studies formed part of an emergent, more textualist, mode. Note also that al-Kūrānī was a teacher of ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī in hadith instruction: see ibid. pp. 364–365. On the interest in hadith scholarship among ulama with strong sufi affiliations in the 17th and 18th centuries, see John O. Voll, 'Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in the 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact in the Islamic World', *Journal of Asian and African Studies* XV: 3–4 (1980), pp. 264–272.

**113**. See for example $EI^2$, 5, p. 433; Knysh, 'Ibrahim al-Kurani', p. 42.

**114**. As Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform' pp. 323–324 points out, al-Kūrānī's view of Ibn Taymīya was positively influenced by his main Damascene teacher, Hanbali mufti and the most eminent Hanbali *ʿālim* in Damascus at the time, ʿAbd al-Bāqī Taqī al-Dīn b. Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī (d.1070/1660). See also idem, 'He was a Teacher'.

In relation to issues of *kalām* and late Ashʿarism, Nafi surveys al-Kūrānī's treatment of such questions as the Qur'an and the divine speech, the attributes of God, and the concept of *kasb* (acquisition of actions), pointing out where he parted company with late Ashʿari dogma and declared his adherence to the salafi position, at the same time serving the end of rehabilitating the latter in dominant sufi–Ashʿari circles. See Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', pp. 330–334, 339–342. He suggests that, in rejecting corporeity, anthropomorphism and allegorical interpretation, al-Kūrānī effectively constructed 'a salafi foundation for Sufism'. See ibid. p. 337. For details of al-Kūrānī's views on *waḥdat al-wujūd*, which amount to 'an attempt to legitimate [it] not only in the eyes of the strict Muslim but even in the eyes of the…salafi', see ibid. pp. 337–338.

It is noteworthy that ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī disagreed profoundly with al-Kūrānī's (strongly salafi) view regarding the issue of *kasb*: see von Schlegell, *Sufism*, p. 19 n. 51. For other reactions to his views on free will, see El-Rouayheb, 'Opening the Gate', p. 281 n. 86.

Note finally an *ijāza* and advice from al-Kūrānī addressed to specific individuals (dated AH 1095 and 1096, respectively) concerning their perusal of Ibn ʿArabī's works

and the issue of reading these with/to others. He clarifies the attitude and approach appropriate to a beneficial and blessed reading and discussion of Ibn ʿArabī's words (viz., *bi-sharṭ al-īmān bi'l-mutashābihāt maʿa laysa kamithlihi shay'*), warning that holding rigidly to the belief of the theologians (*mutakallimūn*) in such reading will be fruitless. Thus, if they find someone with the right attitude (*idhā ra'aytum aḥadan yu'min bi'l-mutashābihāt al-qur'ānīya wa'l-tanzīh*), then it is fine to read with him. See A 3239 [University of Istanbul Library], fol. 151a.

**115**. See Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', pp. 342, 350.

**116**. On his relationship with al-Nābulusī, see ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqa wa'l-majāz fī riḥlat bilād al-Shām wa Miṣr wa'l-Ḥijāz*, ed. Riyad ʿAbd al-Hamid Murad (Damascus, 1989), p. 324 ff.

**117**. See Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', pp. 346–347; al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 216–218.

**118**. His *Dhakhā'ir al-mawārīth fī'l-dalāla ʿalā mawāḍiʿ al-aḥādīth* set out all the books of sound hadith collections by the first transmitters' names: see von Schlegell, *Sufism*, p. 3.

**119**. Ibid., p. 49.

**120**. See ibid., chs. 2–4. For further detail on al-Nābulusī, see Elizabeth Sirreyeh, *Sufi Visionary of Damascus: ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, 1641–1731* (London and New York, 2005); Bakri Aladdin, *Abdalghani al-Nabulusi (d.1143/1731): oeuvre, vie et doctrine*, 2 vols., PhD thesis, University of Paris I, 1985; al-Burqawi, *ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī wa taṣawwufuhu*; $EI^2$, 1, p. 60.

**121**. See von Schlegell, *Sufism*, pp. 33, 43, 250–251. Al-Nābulusī explicitly mentioned in relation to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* that he had inner (*bāṭinī*) paths of transmission which he could not make public.

**122**. See ibid., p. 8.

**123**. See Voll, 'ʿAbdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri', pp. 363, 369.

**124**. For further detail see al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 495–496; al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 2, p. 715; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 4, p. 27; Voll, 'Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi', pp. 33, 39; Knysh, 'Ibrahim al-Kurani', p. 46.

**125**. On him see Nafi, 'He was a Teacher'; Voll, 'Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi'.

**126**. See Aziz Ahmad, 'Political and Religious Ideas of Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi', *The Muslim World* LII: 1 (1962), p. 22; J. M. S. Baljon, *Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah, 1702–1762* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 5–6; Hafiz A. Ghaffar Khan, 'Shah Wali Allah: On the Nature, Origin, Definition and Classification of Knowledge', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3: 2 (1992), pp. 203–213; Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', p. 344.

A third student was the leading Naqshbandi shaykh in Medina, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Uskudārī (d.1182/1768–69). See Copty, 'The Naqshbandiyya', p. 345.

**127**. See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 497.

**128**. See Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', p. 347.

**129**. See $EI^2$, 1, pp. 965–966; Voll, 'ʿAbdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri', p. 369; von Schlegell, *Sufism*, pp. 55–58, 128, 277. Frederick De Jong, Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri (1688–1749): Revival and Reform of the Khalwatiyya Tradition? in Levtzion

and Voll, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Islamic Renewal and Reform*, pp. 117–132 revisits earlier projections of al-Bakrī inspiring a Khalwati revival in the 18th century and reforming the Khalwati way. For another view, see B. G. Martin, A Short History of the Khalwatiyya Order of Dervishes, in N. Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions since 1500* (Berkeley, CA, 1972), pp. 275–305.

**130**. Al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 100–102. See further index.

**131**. Note that in chain {B} 'al-Ḥanafī' is a misreading of al-Ḥifnī by the copyist. The same copyist misreads al-Bakrī as al-Kubrā.

**132**. On al-Ḥifnāwī see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār fīʾl-tarājim waʾl-akhbār* (Beirut, n.d.), 1, pp. 339–354; de Jong, Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri, pp. 118, 120, 126–7. For his writings see al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 4, p. 49. For further sources on him, see Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', p. 347 n. 121. Note that al-Ḥifnāwī had himself assumed the position of Shaykh al-Azhar from 1757/58 until his death in 1767.

Al-Dardayr introduced certain changes to the litany of the Khalwati *ṭarīqa*, incorporating into this his *Ṣalawāt* and *Manẓūma* (see ch. 1 n. 4). These changes were retained by most of the *ṭarīqa* branches that emerged later. See de Jong, Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri, pp. 127, 132 n. 82.

**133**. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 436.

**134**. Al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 4, p. 102. The Wadi Tafilat in the southeast region of Morocco was the centre of the Kharijite emirate centred on Sijilmassa (8th–9th centuries CE). The Idrisid dynasty originated from this region.

**135**. See ibid., pp. 102–108. For further sources, see al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 268–269.

**136**. B; A 4305 [University of Istanbul Library] is another copy (40 fols.) apparently dated AH 1273.

**137**. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 436; see also I, p. 580. For further details of his works, see al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 268–269.

**138**. For example, al-Kuzbarī al-Waṣīt [Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān], son of the foremost hadith scholar in the Syrian Ottoman provinces (d. AH 1221). He also appears in the *thabat* (list of authorities) of Maḥmūd Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī (d.1305). See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 485, 880.

**139**. On him see al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār*, 1, pp. 553–558; 348, drawn on here.

**140**. De Jong, Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri, p. 117; von Schlegell, *Sufism*, pp. 57 n. 157; 277.

**141**. See al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 4, pp. 14–15.

**142**. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. II, p. 479.

**143**. Son of an important notable family of Damascus.

**144**. C, fols. 2b–3a.

**145**. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. II, p. 474.

**146**. Al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 1, p. 3.

**147**. See von Schlegell, *Sufism*, pp. 36 ff.

**148**. See Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāq, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-yawmīya, 1154–1175/1741–1762*, ed. Ahmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karim (Damascus, 1959), p. 52.

**149**. See Yahya, *Histoire*, 2, pp. 540–541.

**150**. On Muḥammad al-Jundī see al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 1, pp. 349–350; Weismann, *Taste of Modernity*, p. 61.

Khālid al-Naqshbandī (1776–1826) was born in Shahrazur in northern Iraq. He studied there, in Damascus and the Hijaz and travelled to Delhi, where he studied with the leading Naqshbandi master, who gave him an *ijāza* and an instruction to spread the *ṭarīqa* in the Ottoman lands. His successes in this during the first part of the 19th century (he appointed at least 67 *khalīfa*s among Kurds, Turks and Arabs) were such that the line he initiated became known as the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya (or Mujaddidiyya-Khalidiyya). He lived consecutively in Sulaymaniyya, Baghdad and Damascus. On him see Albert H. Hourani, Sufism and Modern Islam: Mawlana Khalid and the Naqshbandi Order, in Hourani, ed., *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (London, 1981), pp. 75–89; Weismann, *Taste of Modernity*, chs. 1–2; van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish ʿUlama', pp. 9–10; Butrus Abu-Manneh, 'Salafiyya and the Rise of the Khalidiyya in Baghdad in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Die Welt des Islams* 43:3 (2003), pp. 364–367.

**151**. In chain {A} Amīn al-Jundī refers to his father simply as Muḥammad Efendi al-Jundī, while his note at the end of the commentary identifies his father as 'Muḥammad Saʿīd Efendī *min sulālat* Āl Ramaḍān b. al-ḥajj Isḥāq Efendī al-muftī fī madīnat Aṭana [al-Astāna?] fī-mā maḍā min al-zamān.' (A, fol. 52a) He also signs himself in the same place as 'Jundī Zāde Muḥammad Amīn al-ʿAbbās al-muftī bi-Dimashq'. Al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 1, p. 343 confirms Amīn's descent from al-ʿAbbās, the Prophet's uncle, and includes in his full name a mention of Isḥāq thus: Amīn Efendī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Jundī al-Maʿarrī. (Note the existence of a near contemporary also named Amīn b. Muḥammad Saʿīd in al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 1, p. 342.)

**152**. See al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 1, pp. 343–364; Muhammad Jamil al-Shatti, *Aʿyān Dimashq fī'l-qarn al-thālith ʿashar wa niṣf al-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar, 1201–1350* (n.p., 1972), 2nd edn., pp. 67–69. For further references, see Weismann, *Taste of Modernity*, p. 216 n. 72–73.

On the thought of the Amir ʿAbd al-Qādir and the Akbari awakening among the ulama of Damascus associated with him, see Michel Chodkiewicz, *The Spiritual Writings of Amir ʿAbd al-Kader* (Albany, NY, 1995); Weismann, *Taste of Modernity*, chs. 5–6; Commins, *Islamic Reform*, pp. 26–30: on his rescue of Christians, p. 28.

**153**. See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 1137; R. S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad b. Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (London, 1990), p. 66 n. 44. There is some confusion in the literature surrounding this man. Al-Kattani records a Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul *al-Makkī* [index and e.g. pp. 364, 805, 1147], but also gives a Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul *al-Madanī* [e.g. pp. 199, 694], as given also by O'Fahey. {In places, al-Kattani refers simply to a Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul. To add to the confusion, al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 2, p. 747 gives a Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul

known as 'Sunbul al-Dimashqī' (1150–1218): see also 3, p. 1325, where he gives Muḥammad b. Saʿīd Sunbul (d.1218).} The verification in the literature of the existence of a Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul of the Hijaz, who transmitted from his father and to Yāsīn al-Mīrghanī, is ultimately what concerns us: al-Kattani's crucial reference gives Yāsīn transmitting from Ṭāhir without specifying whether he is al-Makkī or al-Madanī: see p. 1137. On his association with the Mīrghanī family, see O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, pp. 65–66.

**154**. Al-Bitar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar*, 2, pp. 1101–1102, drawing on al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār*. See also O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, pp. 61, 143. R. S. O'Fahey and Bernd Radtke, 'Neo-Sufism Reconsidered', *Der Islam* 70: 1 (1993), p. 58 suggest that he may have fought back against the Wahhabi doctrine on the issue of saintly mediation.

**155**. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, p. 143.

**156**. On this order see 'Mirghaniyya', EI[2], 7, p. 124. On ʿUthmān, see O'Fahey and Radtke, 'Neo-Sufism Reconsidered', p. 58.

**157**. See O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, pp. 93, 132–133, 143 n. 34. See further al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 103, 122, 197, 253, 557, 904, 906 and 1143.

**158**. On this transmission, see for example al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 1137.

**159**. See ibid., pp. 104–106. Another printed work is *al-Luʾluʾ al-marsūʿ fī-mā lā aṣl lahu aw aṣluhu mawḍūʿ* (Cairo, 1305): ibid., p. 106; Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. II, p. 776.

**160**. A second printing is entitled *K. al-Ṭawr al-aghlā fī sharḥ al-Dawr al-aʿlā* (Cairo, n.d.).

**161**. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. II, p. 776; cf. McGregor, *Sanctity and Sainthood*, pp. 176–177 n. 50.

**162**. See D, front page and p. 159, for example. His own shaykh was reportedly a Shadhili namesake of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, whom al-Qāwuqjī admired greatly and whom he projected as an important link in chains of Shadhili teachers: see Winter, *Society and Religion*, pp. 70, 88. He also wrote *Bawāriq al-anwār al-jalīya fī asānīd al-sādāt al-ṣūfīya*: al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 254.

**163**. On him see further al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, index (under Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Qāwuqjī).

**164**. See Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, p. 89.

**165**. See for example ibid., pp. 109–110.

**166**. The principle of the pre-eminent value attached to oral testimony in Islamic culture was maintained from early times through an increasingly elastic application of the *ijāza* to transmissions that could not be guaranteed by direct study of the text transmitted and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding the text (which could often require a considerable period of companionship between the two). While early authorities such as al-Shāfiʿī expressed serious reservations concerning this, *ijāza*s that did not denote a genuine authentication of learning actually accomplished became widely accepted in practice. The 'child *ijāza*' is one of several such categories: others are *ijāza*s granted to children still unborn or for works yet to be written; those obtained through a casual encounter or short,

unplanned interview; those requested and granted through correspondence without any actual meeting between the authority and the receiver (signalling an 'approval' of existing knowledge rather than actual transmission), and the 'general *ijāza*' encompassing an entire oeuvre and typically granted without the actual hearing of texts. See 'Idjaza', EI[2], 3, pp. 1020–1022; further von Schlegell, *Sufism*, pp. 53, 125–128; Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), p. 50. Note that by focusing on the *ijāza* as an authentication of knowledge acquired through transmission based on the direct study of a text and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding it (and designating all other kinds of *ijāza* in contrast as 'formulaic' or 'fictitious'), there is a danger of neglecting other dimensions of its significance and role. Highlighted here, these other dimensions come to the fore in the case of a small prayer such as the *Dawr*, which required neither great feats of understanding nor a lengthy spell of companionship and direct study.

Links apparently underpinned by 'child *ijāza*s' in our chains are: {D} Ibn ʿArabī ~ Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī; {F} Ibn ʿArabī ~ al-Wānī; {A} Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī ~ Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī; {E} al-Suyūṭī ~ Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī; {E} al-Dimyāṭī ~ al-Ḥarāwī; {E} al-Ḥarāwī ~ al-Ḥalabī; {A and E} Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī; {A and E} Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī; {E} ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī ~ Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī.

**167**. To give another example, when the historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Shāma's son died aged eight, his father wrote that he had taken him to hear hadith and other texts from over one hundred and seventy shaykhs. See Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, p. 140. Fathers would take their sons to shaykhs for *baraka*. In hadith transmission, they might take them very young to the oldest shaykhs in order to shorten the chain between them and the Prophet, raising concerns that 'one's shaykhs and their shaykhs were too young to understand the content of what they transmitted'. See ibid., p. 139; cf. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur*, pp. 50–51, emphasising that 'the most important educational link was between the child and the old man'. In general, the insertion of young people into chains of transmission formed a central part of their initiation into the culture of the learned elite. See Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, pp. 88, 118–119, 124–125, 139–140.

**168**. Compare, for example, with Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī's general *ijāza*, received from his father Badr al-Dīn who died when he was seven, in all 41 of Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī's works. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā' ira*, 1, p. 202.

**169**. As a general point, young people in medieval Damascus were cautioned against 'taking texts as shaykhs' and were urged to read only under the personal supervision of a shaykh: among other things, this would link them with all those who had transmitted the text before them, conferring on them the *baraka* of the line of transmission. See Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, pp. 138–139, 141–142, 148.

**170**. See Yahya, *Histoire*, 2, Addenda B and D.

**171**. The same chain from Ibn ʿArabī to al-Suyūṭī appears in al-Kattani's description of one route via which he transmits all of Ibn ʿArabī's works (and all that the latter himself transmitted): see *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 319.

**172**. The chain from al-Qushāshī back to Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī appears also in an *ijāza* in al-Qushāshī's hand for the *Ṣaḥīḥ*: see al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, p. 971.

**173**. I, fol. 62a. Alongside al-Qushāshī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, al-Dimyāṭī, al-Ḥifnāwī and al-Bakrī, Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, the Ghazzīs and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī deserve mention for their critical positions within the chain map.

**174**. In this context the possibility of this being shorthand for a direct, uwaysi connection to Ibn ʿArabī is greatly weakened by the specific phraseology used.

**175**. See Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 320.

**176**. Note that al-Qushāshī gives his *silsila* in '*ṭarīq* al-shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn' thus: al-Qushāshī ~ Abū'l-Mawāhib al-Shinnāwī ~ his father ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs ~ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī ~ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī ~ Kamāl al-Dīn M b. M b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfiʿī (also known as Imām al-Kamālīya) ~ Shams al-Dīn M b. M al-Jazarī ~ Zayn al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd b. Amīla al-Marāshī ~ ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārūthī al-Wāsiṭī ~ Ibn ʿArabī. See Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, *al-Simṭ al-majīd fī talqīn al-dhikr wa'l-bayʿa wa ilbās al-khirqa wa salāsil ahl al-tawḥīd* (Haydarabad, AH 1327/28), pp. 105–106. Cf. p. 122: al-Qushāshī ~ his father and al-Shinnāwī ~ Ismāʿīl al-Jabartī ~ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dajāʿī al-Zabīdī ~ Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Zabīdī ~ Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Kūhī al-Ashkāhī ~ Najm al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh b. M al-Iṣfahānī ~ ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fārūthī al-Wāsiṭī ~ Ibn ʿArabī. The author thanks Michel Chodkiewicz for providing this.

**177**. It has been argued that the travels of ulama combined with the wide influence of sufi *ṭarīqa*s to make the 18th century in particular a time of increasing cosmopolitan interaction in parts of the Muslim world. See Levtzion and Voll, Introduction, in Levtzion and Voll, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Islamic Renewal and Reform*, p. 5.

**178**. The Haramayn were an important meeting place given their central location and the requirement for the pilgrimage, but scholars and students also came there from all parts of the Muslim world specifically to teach and study: rich exchange took place there among scholars, particularly in Medina. See ibid., p. 7; Voll, 'Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs', pp. 264 ff. As Copty, 'The Naqshbandiyya', pp. 321–322 details, the reputation of the Haramayn as centres of learning was enhanced as a result of Mamluk and Ottoman support for institutions and positions associated with both *ʿilm* and *taṣawwuf*.

**179**. As well as serving as gateways to the Haramayn, Cairo and Damascus were important centres of learning in their own right.

**180**. On general patterns of communication and interaction among scholars at this time, see Levtzion and Voll, Introduction, p. 8.

**181**. The influence of both *ṭarīqa*s became particularly widespread from the following century: see, for example, Butrus Abu-Manneh, 'Transformations of the Naqshbandiyya, 17th–20th Century: Introduction', *Die Welt des Islams* 43:3 (2003), p. 303. Significantly, El-Rouayheb, 'Opening the Gate', pp. 264, 271–273 links the growing and increasingly open support for the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and for Ibn ʿArabī in the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire from the 17th century to the

spread there of originally non-Arab *ṭuruq*, such as the Naqshbandiyya and the Khalwatiyya.

**182**. McGregor, *Sanctity and Sainthood*, p. 74 points to the Wafa'iyya's emergence from the Shadhiliyya as a case in point.

**183**. Note that he also appears in chains attached to *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*: see Yahya, *Histoire*, 2, p. 540, 6b and 6d ii.

**184**. See Nafi, 'Tasawwuf and Reform', p. 329.

**185**. For different views in the debate concerning the possible characterisation of the constitutive elements of this position in terms of a rising revivalist/reformist 'neo-Sufism' (in combination with certain other elements) see, for example, O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, pp. 2 ff.; O'Fahey and Radtke, 'Neo-Sufism Reconsidered', and Ahmad Dallal, 'The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750–1850', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113: 3 (1993), pp. 341–359.

The affiliation of several of these ulama to the Naqshbandiyya is noteworthy: Medina was a major centre for the *ṭarīqa* during the 17th century. See van Bruinessen, 'Shariʿa Court', p. 179; Voll, 'Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs', p. 268; Copty, 'The Naqshbandiyya', p. 322. While one cannot generalise about this *ṭarīqa* as a whole, it was to develop a strong tradition of reform at least through the Mujaddidi line. On attitudes towards Ibn ʿArabī in the *ṭarīqa* prior to Sirhindī, see Hamid Algar, 'Reflections of Ibn ʿArabī in Early Naqshbandi Tradition', *JMIAS* X (1991), pp. 45–66.

**186**. See Algar, 'Reflections of Ibn ʿArabī', p. 60. On his legacy, see Weismann, *Taste of Modernity*, ch. 2. As Abu-Manneh, 'Salafiyyah' demonstrates, Shaykh Khālid's call came substantially as a reaction (and challenge) to the expansion in Baghdad of an at least partly Wahhabi-inspired Salafi worldview. He provided an alternative religious path for the community, projected as better reflecting the substance of Islam than Salafi beliefs alone (as embodied in the city's rising Salafi trend). Shaykh Khālid was heir to the legacy of Shāh Walī Allāh, 'whose belief in *waḥdat al-wujūd* did not stop him from writing a treatise on the virtues of Ibn Taymīya and embracing a range of his ideas'. See Nafi, 'Abu al-Thana' al-Alusi', p. 488.

**187**. See David Commins, 'ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazā'irī and Islamic Reform', *The Muslim World* 78 (1988), pp. 121–131; idem, *Islamic Reform*, pp. 26–30. On the Salafiyya of late Ottoman Damascus see Weismann, *Taste of Modernity*, ch. 8.

**188**. Cf. Stefan Reichmuth, 'Arabic Literature and Islamic Scholarship in the 17th/18th Century: Topics and Biographies', *Die Welt des Islams* 42: 3 (2002), p. 287.

**189**. Such a line of enquiry might also be pursued by expanding the characterisation of contemporary users summarised earlier.

# 3

# The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

## *Properties*[1]

Many who have presented or transmitted the prayer during the last four hundred years have emphasised the importance of reciting it diligently and of taking it, as one puts it, 'as a regular practice (*wird*)'.[2] Several recommend that it be recited every morning and evening,[3] and some in the morning only. Others add that it should also be recited in times of difficulty or distress.[4] One way to encourage regular reading has been to tie the prayer to the *Awrād*, as in some *ijāza*s associated with it among certain contemporary sufi circles discussed earlier. In one copy the prayer is integrated into a daily/nightly reading cycle, repeated fourteen times: an opening prayer (*ḥizb iftitāḥ*), a numbered interface text (*ḥiṣār*), Ibn ʿArabī's *wird* for the day/night, the *Dawr* and a concluding prayer (*ḥizb al-ikhtitām*).[5] Other copies incorporate it after the full complement of the *Awrād*:[6] where this is not the case, the owner of an *Awrād* copy sometimes adds it by hand at the end.[7] Yet there are many more cases where the prayer is not associated with the *Awrād*,[8] and several copies offer specific advice concerning what should be recited before[9] and after[10] it without reference to the *Awrād*. Such recommendations typically encompass the *ṣalawāt*, invocations of Divine Names and formulae emphasising God's unique power, but there are many variations.[11]

In more substantial treatments recommendations concerning recitation of the prayer are intertwined with a detailing of its special properties (*khawāṣṣ*), for the latter are activated only through its proper use. Commentators and copyists outdo each other in

describing these. By way of illustration, a particularly comprehensive statement of the prayer's properties by the AH 12th–13th century commentator al-Dāmūnī (written in rhymed prose in Arabic) is given below.[12]

> I ask Allāh…that [the prayer] may benefit whoever recites it with sincerity and firm inner belief, and that it may achieve their desired end for whoever perseveres in the benefits it contains, for He is the One who Bestows with Noble Generosity, the One who Knows the condition of those who recite. Whoever uses what is in the prayer or recites it with complete inner belief may achieve their desired goal, but whoever recites it or uses its benefits while raising objections will gain nothing but distress and corruption. I include…some of the benefits of this great prayer, in respect to which the response will never fail provided that one has a pure heart. Among its benefits are the following:
>
> Whoever reads it regularly and diligently morning and evening need not fear poverty, blindness or broken bones. He will be in God's secure custody en route and at rest on land and at sea. He need not fear beasts of prey, loss of his possessions, accidents, aches and pains, illnesses, shadow companions (male and female), disobedient and insolent jinn, or malicious storm demons.[13] He need not fear the arrows of war, for he will always be victorious, never defeated. He need not fear any kind of enemy, human or jinn.[14] He need not fear highway robbers, for Allāh will rip to utter shreds anyone who stands against him. If the one who recites the prayer boards a ship, he need not fear harm or malady, being taken captive, drowning, or any epidemic, be it airborne or earth-bound, on land or at sea, nor the ship being holed and torn apart.[15]
>
> Whoever recites the prayer will be safe from enemies and evil oppressors and from all the unjust and envious in all the worlds.[16] He will be respected and well-liked by all who see him, and they will be unable to endure being away from him. He will be like the sun and the moon among the stars: the heavenly and

earthly worlds will love him all his life. He will be protected from migraine, headache, throbbing and shooting pain, tooth, ear, eye and stomach ache, facial palsy, hemiplegia, convulsions, and every malady that afflicts humankind.[17] He will be protected from devilish insinuations and thoughts, will have pleasant dreams, and will see only what gladdens him in all his days.

Whoever recites [the prayer] will be released from imprisonment, constraint and captivity, especially if his reciting is deep-rooted and strong. [Reciting the prayer] makes childbirth easy for the divorcee, and through it every pressing need is met. It removes fevers and chills, and brings home strays and runaways. It reminds one of the Testimony of Faith (*shahāda*) at the time of death, and helps one in the questioning of the two angels, and in the fear caused by sudden death.[18] It awakens the heart from the slumber of heedlessness, and helps in sincere repentance and in erasing one's lapses and errors. It elevates one to the highest stations, in this world and after death. It preserves one from association with the Evil One[19] and from the serious afflictions that affect babies.[20] It safeguards the one who recites it from all kinds of jinn, from colic and neuralgia, and from all winds, especially the ill wind[21] of the evening and morning. It protects against the sting of scorpions and the bite of vipers and snakes, against infectious diseases and plague, and whatever harms humankind. It thwarts black magic and all machinations, and the knots of ill-intent.[22] It repels from whoever recites it the army and soldiers of the enemy, bequeaths the memorising of knowledge and the meanings of the glorious Qur'an, and preserves the heart and mind from thoughts [insinuated by] the accursed [Satan]. If recited after *ʿaṣr* it removes misery and poverty, especially if *sūrat* al-Wāqiʿa is recited too, because this *sūra* is an irresistible force.[23]

We have mentioned just some of the benefits: strive for them, you who have freed yourself from bondage to habits. Benefit is in accordance with sincerity, faithfulness and firm inner belief; lack of benefit results from distrust and ignominious objecting.

> The one who firmly believes will be in enduring felicity in this world, in the isthmus (*barzakh*) and on the Appointed Day, while the one who raises objections will be in a painful torment: hell suffices for him, an evil resting place.
>
> These results arise only through the [spiritual] breaths (*al-anfās*), that is, by receiving [instruction regarding] them from Masters of Wisdom (*al-sāda al-akyās*).[24] If someone is without these [spiritual] breaths, it is as if he builds a wall without a foundation. However, if he can't find a perfect one (*al-kāmil*), then he should make pure his intention in this matter, and perhaps he will acquire some of these benefits, if his innermost intention is good. What we have mentioned is sufficient for those who seek, and the [prayer's] benefits are not hidden from the perfect ones.

Many of the properties detailed above and in comparable lists reflect the preoccupations of a pre-modern world in which forces of nature, often attributed to active but imperceptible spirits such as the jinn, were a potent reminder of the precariousness of human life.[25] Special liturgical texts attributed to various saints of early and medieval Islam served at the front line in the effort to ward off these threats to life and limb, by subduing such forces.[26] They could also be used to neutralise the potential hostility or harmful intentions of jinn in any other circumstances, as indeed those of fellow men. The protective power attributed to such texts conferred a talismanic character upon them, reflected in the sense which has become attached to terms such as *ḥizb* and *ḥirz* commonly used to designate them[27] (and in the instructions for use that often accompany them). The power or *baraka* of such texts is perceived to derive from that which inheres in the Qur'anic verses, *ṣalawāt* (and sometimes *muqaṭṭaʿāt* or letter clusters prefacing certain *sūra*s) they encompass.[28] The saintly stature of their authors confers a particular efficacy upon them, for it is believed that the prayers of a saint are more likely to be heard. As inspired compositions bestowed only upon saintly figures, such texts indeed serve as vehicles for their authors' spiritual authority[29] and, of more immediate interest to the supplicant, for the unique inter-

cessory potential that flows from their closeness to God as His friends.

Taking its place in this liturgical arsenal, the *Dawr* appears alongside a wide range of other protective prayers in our sources, notably the *aḥzāb* of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī[30] and the *ḥirz* of Abū Madyan,[31] but also less well-known prayers with properties of healing or defending against the plague, for example.[32] Commentators draw out the protective potential of the *Dawr* by sketching talismans and 'magic squares' with words, letters and numbers: these represent individual verses, and are often accompanied by details of their specific uses.[33] Copyists enhance this protective quality by inserting additional supplications with protective force.[34] While most of our sources stress the importance of *reciting* the prayer if its protective and other benefits are to be enjoyed,[35] the talismanic character of the text is highlighted by the latest of our commentators, al-Qāwuqjī, who suggests that such benefits accrue from simply carrying the text. The dead, too, can benefit, he adds, for if it is buried with them they will be protected from the torment of the grave.[36]

As al-Dāmūnī's list makes clear, the prayer's powers also encompass the materialisation of 'positive' effects with regard to relations in the world, in particular the awakening of esteem and affection in people's hearts. Some mention that it can bring forth obedience 'in both earthly and heavenly realms' to whoever recites it. Other lists add to this the power to facilitate exigencies of buying, selling and other kinds of transaction.[37] Of particular interest to those who travel the spiritual journey of *taṣawwuf*, further benefits are reflected in the prayer's title. One copyist thus offers the following version of this: *Ḥizb al-wiqāya li-man arāda al-wilāya*, 'prayer of protection for one who strives for close friendship [with God]'.[38] Commentators and copyists repeat that people of verification who are sincere in service have 'tried and tested' the prayer's special properties. Through their pure, elevated spiritual resolution (*himma*), they have experienced its benefits and witnessed uncountable secrets.[39]

According to commentators and copyists, the prayer is thus 'an eternal secret': it is 'a sharp sword' that emanates from 'the most

secret of affairs'.[40] As in the case of other prayers, they attribute the powers of the *Dawr* to the Qur'anic verses and Divine Names it encompasses.[41] The benefits associated with both elements are explained, but commentators pay particular attention to the Divine Names,[42] citing well-known Qur'an and hadith texts that urge use of these in supplication and detail the benefits that are associated with them.[43] As al-Dāmūnī puts it, the Names are thus 'the door – indeed the keys to the locked doors, and they encompass a speedy response for anyone who orients his heart to his Lord.'[44] Al-Tāfilātī repeats a caution advanced by scholar-mystics that the Divine Names should be used not for the exclusive end of earthly fortune, but out of pure obedience to His command to use them in supplication. Thus entrusting matters to God, he explains, it becomes possible for one to succeed in worshipping Him as the goal, *and* in having one's earthly requests met consequentially.[45]

Like al-Dāmūnī, most commentators and copyists single out as a *sine qua non* for actualising the prayer's benefits the sincerity of the reader's intention, and their purity of heart.[46] Some explicitly add to this the need, to which al-Dāmūnī alludes, for 'permission from a guide (*murshid*) perfect in knowledge and conduct'.[47] In the absence of such guidance, however, recitation of the prayer is still encouraged (with pure intention), as is the hope for actualising at least some of its potential benefits.[48] This suggests that such recitation without a specific *ijāza* was countenanced, in evidence and perhaps even relatively widespread by the late 18th century, adumbrating popularisation of the prayer in the following centuries.

## The text and its contents

It seems more appropriate in discussing a prayer like the *Dawr* to think in terms of a stable text and its variants, rather than a critical edition. As a living text in constant use, versions displaying small differences have become established as equally acceptable across time, reflecting a cumulative process of variation taking place at the

interface between oral transmission and committing to writing, and possibly compounded by the operation of personal preference and tricks of memory. The variants of which they are aware (which they may have discovered in written copies they have surveyed) have indeed been carefully marked by some who have presented the prayer in the last few centuries, pointing to a conviction of the equal validity and prayerful importance of each of these.[49] At the same time, copyists and commentators implicitly showcase their own 'personal' text, which they may have received through an authorisation from a shaykh.

Towards establishing a stable text of the prayer and identifying accepted variations in this we surveyed a wide range of written copies, in the hope of building a picture of how it has been recorded (and thus recited) and transmitted through the last four centuries. There are numerous differences in these copies: perhaps somewhat surprisingly, these also touch the Qur'anic content. In some cases this reflects a legitimate Qur'anic alternative, but in others it must be attributed to inaccuracy of presentation.[50] Many apparent textual differences in prayer copies can of course be put down to errors of hearing, memorisation, reading or copying, but there are also interpolations, some pious, others explanatory in character. We do not mention each and every difference in the notes accompanying the text, as is often done in critical editions. As our target is a text we hope may serve as a 'standard' version that is readily usable, only significant and interesting differences felt to constitute genuine variations are recorded. In preparing the text the aim was to bring out in the best possible form the meanings of the prayer and the sentiments that infuse it, while paying due attention to internal structure and consistency (both of the overall text and its individual verses), literary dimensions, and aspects of auditory texture like rhythm and fluency.

One might legitimately ask why it is worthwhile to produce such a text. First, from a devotional perspective it can be important for those who use the prayer to be confident of reciting an authentic and accurate text. Differences between printed versions specifically (i.e.

those actually in use today for devotional purposes) reviewed by the present author may not appear great, but they are significant enough to be noteworthy. Moreover, there are grammatical errors and spelling inaccuracies in several of these. Second, the identification of a stable text makes possible a well-founded mapping in the prayer of characteristic motifs and subtleties of its author's perspective.

The text we present is based on thirteen copies set out in the Appendix, all but one of them in the form of unpublished manuscripts. These are the most important of the copies reviewed, selected for their association with a chain of transmission, a specific date (paying particular attention to the earliest specifically), or a known figure.[51] Two further copies with full vowels were closely consulted for clarity. Five of the copies used arise in commentaries on the prayer. Particular care must be exercised in working with these as the greater volume of text involved can make it more likely for the copyist (or scribe) to introduce errors.[52]

The *Dawr* has thirty-three verses, suggesting the image of the traditional string of prayer-beads (*tasbīḥ; subḥa*). Its recitation also evokes the image of a necklace: Divine Name pairs and Qur'anic texts form focal points of precious stones, strung together and set off by supplications and rhythmic word chains. Each verse begins with the invocation of two Divine Names and ends in Allāh, the Complete or Unifying Name (*al-ism al-jāmiʿ*), with which the prayer as a whole also begins (*Allāhumma*).[53] Within each prayer verse the Names invoked, the specific object of the supplication and the Qur'anic text are integrated, the latter (more precisely its Qur'anic context) effectively furnishing an illustrative and explanatory scenario for the former.

As Qur'anic texts and invocations of Divine Names form the prayer's outstanding features, the notes that accompany the translation elaborate on these areas specifically.[54] Where this is not given in the prayer we provide the full Qur'anic verse, indicating how the author of the prayer has quoted this.[55] We detail the immediate context of each Qur'anic text quoted, making it possible to elaborate the relationship between this and the specific object of supplication.

The notes also identify Names invoked that do not derive from the traditional list of ninety-nine,[56] pointing up those among them that can be found in the Qur'an.[57]

In rendering the Names into English we have drawn on Ibn ʿArabī's explication of these in his *K. Kashf al-maʿna ʿan asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*.[58] Here he provides a threefold elaboration of the qualities of each Name as the servant might relate to them: first, from the perspective of the servant who has 'absolute need' for these qualities, since they denote the Essence (*al-taʿalluq*); second, a spiritual knowledge and realisation of the meanings of these qualities as they relate to the Divine Himself and as they relate to the servant (*al-taḥaqquq*); and third, in the manifestation of these qualities in the servant in a manner appropriate to the servant, just as they appear in Him (*al-takhalluq*).[59] To bring out this understanding of the qualities of the Names it was necessary in several cases to provide extended meanings in the translation, given in square brackets. Beyond this, a few such brackets are also used as an aid to accuracy and clarity in rendering the sense of the original (including some Qur'anic texts) into English.

With respect to the prayer's Qur'anic content, over a third of the Qur'anic texts incorporated take the form of a direct divine address to a prophet, or appear on the tongue of a prophet. Moses (Mūsā) features most frequently among them, but there are also utterances by Abraham (Ibrāhīm) and Joseph (Yūsuf), for example.[60] Prayer verse 13, which incorporates part of a Qur'anic verse concerning Joseph, serves to illustrate the rich and subtle composition which shapes the prayer text, while pointing also to the operation of different levels of meaning within it. Taken from the story of Joseph in *sūrat* Yūsuf, the Qur'anic verse in question tells of the impact of Joseph's stunning beauty on the women invited by the wife of the Egyptian in whose employ he was. They had been whispering maliciously that she had been soliciting him, but when they saw him they were so astounded that they cut their hands with the knives provided for the banquet to which she had invited them. The verse ends with their exclamation 'This is no mortal; he is no other than a

noble angel!' In verse 13 of the prayer, the supplicant solicits a vision of the Divine Beauty, as in the vision experienced by the women of the beauty embodied by Joseph. The request is addressed through the Names of Majesty (invoking explicitly the Names *al-Jalīl* and *al-Kabīr*), so that through them the Divine Beauty will descend in His Solicitous Majesty. Verse 13 thus alludes to an experience of utter awe in the face of Beauty which discloses the Divine Majesty, Perfection and Solicitude (*ijlāl*, *ikmāl*, *iqbāl*).[61] The framing of the request in terms of the metaphor of 'clothing with a robe' resonates immediately with Joseph's own 'cloak of many colours', but also with the *khirqa* or sufi mantle, a symbol of those Perfect Servants in whom the divine qualities appear through the mysteries of *takhalluq* referred to above.

Regarding the literary style of the prayer, while it is impossible to emulate the original an effort has been made to retain characteristic features of this in translation, particularly those relating to auditory texture. These include the ending of each of the prayer's verses in 'Allāh',[62] and the frequent multiple word chains. In the latter case repeated word patterns that help build rhythm (using particular forms of the verbal noun, for example) cannot be repeated in translation.[63]

It remains finally to underline the embedded-ness of the prayer text (like other works of Ibn ʿArabī) in the universe of traditional Muslim piety, a universe ultimately rooted in the revealed text with its leitmotifs of man's utter dependence and vulnerability, and the potential nobility of his aspirations and destiny.

# Translation and Arabic text

# The Most Elevated Cycle that brings one close to Every Station of The Most High

by

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# الدَّوْرُ الاَعْلَى

# المُقَرِّبُ اِلَى كُلِّ مَقَامِ الاَعْلَى

للشيخ محي الدين محمد بن علي بن العربي

تحقيق سهى التاجي الفاروقي

In the Name of Allāh, the All-Compassionate, the Most Merciful

1. O Allāh! O You who are the Ever-Living, the Self-Subsisting! In You I establish my protection: shelter me with the shielding, protective sufficiency and safeguarding, the reality and proof, the stronghold and security of *In the Name of Allāh*.[64]

2. Admit me, O You who are the First and Last, to the hidden domain of the unknowable, secret and encompassing treasure of *As Allāh wills! There is no power save in Allāh*.[65]

3. Unfurl over me, O You who choose Clemency [over censure], who Veil in Protection,[66] the sheltering wing, the covering veil, the preservation and deliverance of *Hold fast to the bond of Allāh*.[67]

4. Build around me, O You who are the All-Encompassing,[68] the All-Powerful, the secure, encircling wall, the glorious canopy, the might and majesty of *That is better, that is of the signs of Allāh*.[69]

5. Place me under Your protection, O You who are Observant [of all needs] and Responsive [to all requests]: preserve my soul and faith, my family and children, my home and estate, through the watchfulness, protectiveness and timely relief and assistance of *But [Satan] will not hurt them anything, save by the leave of Allāh*.[70]

بِسْمِ اللّهِ الرَّحْمانِ الرَّحِيمِ

١ اللّهُمَّ يَا حَيُّ يَا قَيُّومُ بِكَ تَحَصَّنْتُ فَاحْمِنِي بِحِمَايَةِ كِفَايَةِ وِقَايَةِ حَقِيقَةِ بُرْهَانِ حِرْزِ اَمَانِ بِسْمِ اللّهِ

٢ وَاَدْخِلْنِي يَا أَوَّلُ يَا آخِرُ مَكْنُونَ غَيْبِ سِرِّ دَائِرَةِ كَنْزِ مَاشَاءَ اللّهُ لاَقُوَّةَ الاَّ بِاللّهِ

٣ وَاَسْبِلْ عَلَيَّ يَا حَلِيمُ يَا سَتَّارُ كَنَفَ سِتْرِ حِجَابِ صِيَانَةِ نَجَاةِ وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللّهِ

٤ وَابْنِ يَا مُحِيطُ يَا قَادِرُ عَلَيَّ سُورَ اَمَانِ اِحَاطَةِ مَجْدِ سُرَادِقِ عِزِّ[1] عَظَمَةِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ[2] ذَلِكَ مِنْ آيَاتِ اللّهِ

٥ وَاَعِذْنِي يَا رَقِيبُ يَا مُجِيبُ وَاحْرُسْنِي فِي نَفْسِي وَدِينِي وَاَهْلِي وَوَلَدِي وَدَارِي وَمَالِي[3] بِكَلاَءَةِ اِعَاذَةِ اِغَاثَةِ[4] وَلَيْسَ بِضَارِّهِمْ شَيْئاً[5] اِلاَّ بِاِذْنِ اللّهِ

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1. A: word missing. B: missing but gives as alternative
2. D omits ذالك خير but gives as alternative
3. Order of the last four words varies, some omit داري or مالي
4. D, E and M add اعانة
5. D: وما هم بضارّين به من احد (Q.2:102)

6. Shield me, O You who Protect [from corruption] and Repel [all evil],[71] by Your Names, Verses and Words, from the evil of Satan and of the powerful, such that if an oppressor or tyrant treats me unjustly, he will be taken by *An enveloping chastisement of Allāh*.[72]

7. Deliver me, O You who Abase [those who would set themselves above You] and who Avenge [without pardon], from Your iniquitous slaves who wrong me and from their minions, such that if one of them intends me ill, Allāh will forsake him, *Setting a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laying a cover on his seeing. Who then will guide him, after Allāh?*[73]

8. Protect me, O You who Seize and Vanquish, from their treacherous deception: repel them from me censured, driven away in blame and routed, through the damaging, corrupting and destruction in *And there was no host to help him, apart from Allāh*.[74]

9. Let me taste, O You who are Ever Glorified and Praised,[75] Ever Sanctified and Holy, the sweet delight and intimate converse of *Come forward and fear not; for surely you are among those who are secure*[76] in the shelter of Allāh.

٦ وَقِنِي يَا مَانِعُ يَا دَافِعُ[6] بِاَسْمَائِكَ[7] وَآيَاتِكَ وَكَلِمَاتِكَ شَرَّ الشَّيْطَانِ
وَالسُّلْطَانِ فَاِنْ ظَالِمٌ اَوْ جَبَّارٌ بَغَى عَلَيَّ اَخَذَتْهُ غَاشِيَةٌ مِنْ عَذَابِ اللّهِ

٧ وَنَجِّنِي يَا مُذِلُّ يَا مُنْتَقِمُ مِنْ عَبِيدِكَ الظَّلَمَةِ[8] البَاغِينَ عَلَيَّ وَاَعْوَانِهِمْ
فَاِنْ هَمَّ لِي مِنْهُم اَحَدٌ[9] بِسُوءٍ خَذَلَهُ اللّهُ[10] وَخَتَمَ عَلَى سَمْعِهِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ
عَلَى بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَنْ يَهْدِيهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ اللّهِ

٨ وَاكْفِنِي يَا قَابِضُ يَا قَهَّارُ خَدِيعَةَ مَكْرِهِمْ وَارْدُدْهُمْ عَنِّي مَذْمُومِينَ
مَذْؤُومِينَ مَدْحُورِينَ بِتَخْسِيرِ تَغْيِيرِ تَدْمِيرِ[11] فَمَا كَانَ لَهُ مِنْ فِئَةٍ يَنْصُرُونَهُ
مِنْ دُونِ اللّهِ

٩ وَاَذِقْنِي يَا سُبُّوحُ يَا قُدُّوسُ لَذَّةَ مُنَاجَاةِ اَقْبِلْ وَلا تَخَفْ اِنَّكَ مِنَ
الآمِنِينَ فِي كَنَفِ[12] اللّهِ

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6. E, G, H, I, J and M: نافع. C: رافع. H adds يا باريء
7. B and C: بِحَقّ اسماءك
8. D, E, F, G, H, K and M: الظالمين
9. A, D, E, G, L and M: احد منهم
10. G and H: أخذ له الله (H gives خذله الله as alternative)
11. Word chain varies: some give تحسير / تجسير instead of or in addition to تخسير, and give تكدير instead of or in addition to تدمير
12. E and I: بفضل and in margin في كنف or في كنف الله بفضل الله ; F, G, J and K: بفضل الله. H omits the phrase and proceeds directly from من الامنين to verse 10, thus collating verses 9 and 10 into a single verse. Note that the Qur'anic verse ends with الامنين

10. And let them taste, O You who inflict Harm and take away Life, the exemplary punishment, the evil consequences and annihilation in *So the last remnant of the people who did evil was cut off. Praise belongs to Allāh*.[77]

11. Make me safe, O You who are Peace of Perfection, the Giver of Security, from the sudden sorties of the enemy forces, through the aim of the beginning of the verse *For them are good tidings in the life of this world and in the hereafter. There is no changing the words of Allāh*.[78]

12. Crown me, O You who are the Sublimely Magnificent, the One who Raises in Honour, with the crown of the awesome grandeur, the majestic dominion, the sovereignty, might and magnificence of *And do not let their saying grieve you. Indeed the honour and glory belong to Allāh*.[79]

13. Clothe me, O You who are Solicitous in Benevolent Majesty, the Incomparably Great, in the robe that renders the august majesty, complete perfection and attentive solicitude in *And when they saw him*, *they so admired him that they cut their hands*, *saying 'May we be saved by Allāh!'*[80]

14. Bring down upon me, O You who are the Eminent in Affection, the Constant in Love, love [extended] from You, so that through it the hearts of Your servants will be guided to me, yielding to me with love, affectionate and unwavering, from the filling with love, the softening of hearts and the coming into loving union in *They love them as if it were love for Allāh*, *but those who believe are more ardent in love for Allāh*.[81]

١٠ وَاَذِقْهُمْ يَا ضَارُّ يَا مُمِيتُ نَكَالَ وَبَالِ زَوَالِ فَقُطِعَ دَابِرُ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ
ظَلَمُوا وَالحَمْدُ لِلّهِ

١١ وَآمِنِّي يَا سَلَامُ يَا مُؤْمِنُ[13] صَوْلَةَ جَوْلَةِ دَوْلَةِ الاَعْدَاءِ بِغَايَةِ بِدَايَةِ آيَةِ
لَهُمُ البُشْرَى فِي الحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَفِي الآخِرَةِ لاَتَبْدِيلَ لِكَلِمَاتِ اللّهِ

١٢ وَتَوِّجْنِي يَا عَظِيمُ يَا مُعِزُّ بِتَاجِ مَهَابَةِ كِبْرِيَاءِ جَلَالِ[14] سُلْطَانِ مَلَكُوتِ
عِزِّ عَظَمَةِ[15] وَلاَ يَحْزُنْكَ قَوْلُهُمْ اِنَّ العِزَّةَ لِلّهِ

١٣ وَاَلْبِسْنِي يَا جَلِيلُ يَا كَبِيرُ خِلْعَةَ اِجْلَالِ اِكْمَالِ[16] اِقْبَالِ فَلَمَّا رَأَيْنَهُ
اَكْبَرْنَهُ وَقَطَّعْنَ اَيْدِيَهُنَّ وَقُلْنَ حَاشَ لِلّهِ

١٤ وَاَلْقِ يَا عَزِيزُ يَا وَدُودُ عَلَيَّ مَحَبَّةً مِنْكَ فَتَنْقَادَ وَتَخْضَعَ[17] لِي بِهَا
قُلُوبُ[18] عِبَادِكَ بِالمَحَبَّةِ وَالمَعَزَّةِ وَالمَوَدَّةِ مِنْ تَعْطِيفِ تَلْطِيفِ[19] تَأْلِيفِ
يُحِبُّونَهُمْ كَحُبِّ اللّهِ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اَشَدُّ حُبّاً لِلّهِ

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13. E adds يا مُهَيْمِنُ in margin as alternative
14. C: جمال. G, H and M omit word
15. K adds جبروت; some change the order to ملكوت سلطان
16. Some give instead جلال and كمال; some add جمال and vary the order
17. A: حتّى تَنقادَ وتخضعَ
18. G, H, I, J, L and M omit word
19. F, G, H, I, J and K omit word

15. Show upon me, O You who are the Manifest and Hidden, traces of the luminous mysteries of *He loves them and they love Him: [they are] soft towards the believers, hard on the unbelievers, striving in the path of Allāh*.[82]

16. Turn my face, O Allāh, O You who are the Eternal Refuge, the Essential Light, with the sheer purity, beauty, intimacy and illumination of *So if they dispute with you, say, 'I have surrendered myself to Allāh'*.[83]

17. Beautify me, O You who are the Originator [in Beauty] of the heavens and the earth,[84] who possess Sublime Majesty and Ennobling Generosity, with the flawless fluency, supreme eloquence and surpassing skill in '*Unloose the knot upon my tongue, so that they understand my words*'[85] through the kindly, merciful gentleness of *Then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of Allāh*.[86]

18. Gird me, O You who are the Most Severe in Assault,[87] the All-Compeller, with the sword of awesome forcefulness and invincible power, from the glorious strength, omnipotence and might in *There is no help to victory except from Allāh*.[88]

19. Give me ever, O You who Expand and Open up to Victory, the joyful delight in '*My Lord, lay open for me my chest, and ease for me my task*'[89] through the subtle sentiments, the inner affections in *Did we not lay open for you your chest?*,[90] and through the happy exuberance and glad tidings in *That day the believers shall rejoice, in the victorious help of Allāh*.[91]

١٥ وَاَظْهِرْ عَلَيَّ يَا ظَاهِرُ يَا بَاطِنُ آثَارَ اَسْرَارِ اَنْوَارِ يُحِبُّهُمْ وَيُحِبُّونَهُ
اَذِلَّةٍ عَلَى المُؤْمِنِينَ اَعِزَّةٍ عَلَى الكَافِرِينَ يُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّهِ

١٦ وَوَجِّهِ اللّهُمَّ يَا صَمَدُ يا نُورُ وَجْهِي بِصَفَاءِ جَمَالِ اُنْسِ اِشْرَاقِ[20]
فَاِنْ حَاجُّوكَ فَقُلْ اَسْلَمْتُ وَجْهِي لِلّهِ

١٧ وَجمِّلْنِي يَا بَدِيعَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالاَرْضِ يَا ذَا الجَلاَلِ وَالاِكْرَامِ
بِالفَصَاحَةِ وَالبَلاَغَةِ وَالبَرَاعَةِ[21] وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِنْ لِسَانِي يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي
بِرَأْفَةِ رَحْمَةِ[22] رِقَّةِ ثُمَّ تَلِينُ جُلُودُهُمْ وَقُلُوبُهُمْ اِلَى ذِكْرِ اللّهِ

١٨ وَقَلِّدْنِي يَا شَدِيدَ البَطْشِ يَا جَبَّارُ بِسَيْفِ الهَيْبَةِ[23] وَالشِّدَّةِ وَالقُوَّةِ
وَالمَنَعَةِ مِنْ بَأْسِ جَبَرُوتِ عِزَّةِ وَمَا النَّصْرُ اِلاَّ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللّهِ

١٩ وَاَدِمْ عَلَيَّ يَا بَاسِطُ يَا فَتَّاحُ بَهْجَةَ مَسَرَّةِ رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي
وَيَسِّرْ لِي اَمْرِي بِلَطَائِفِ عَوَاطِفِ[24] اَلَمْ نَشْرَحْ لَكَ صَدْرَكَ وَبِاَشَائِرِ
بَشَائِرِ[25] وَيَوْمَئِذٍ يَفْرَحُ المُؤْمِنُونَ بِنَصْرِ اللّهِ

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20. Some add to this chain ضياء or وفاء or بهجة or جلال
21. B, C, D and F: والبراعة والبلاغة
22. B, D omit word
23. G and H omit word
24. H and I add: عوارف
25. C omits word. D: وببشارة اشارة (with alternative وباشائر بشائر)

20. Send down upon my heart, O Allāh, O You who are the Most Subtly Benevolent, the Supremely Kind [who establishes True Welfare],[92] faith, tranquillity and peaceful calm,[93] that I may be of *Those who have faith and whose hearts are at peace in the remembrance of Allāh*.[94]

21. Pour over me, O You who are the Superlatively Forbearing and Steadfast, to Whom all Gratitude is due for Your blessings, the steadfastness of those who have armed themselves with the unshakable resolve, certitude and empowerment of '*How often has a small unit overcome a sizeable one, by the permission of Allāh*.'[95]

22. Preserve me, O You who are the All-Preserving Guardian, to Whom all things are Entrusted, before me and behind me, on my right and on my left, above me and below me, through the ever-present, witnessing, assembling hosts of *He has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by the command of Allāh*.[96]

23. Plant firm my feet, O Allāh, O You who are the One who Stands [over every soul],[97] the Forever Enduring,[98] as You made firm the one who said '*How should I fear what you have associated [with Him], when you do not fear [the fact] that you have established associates beside Allāh?*'[99]

24. Help me, O You who are the Best Protector, the Most Excellent Helper,[100] against the enemy, in the way that You helped the one to whom [his people] said '*Are you making fun of us?' He replied, 'I take refuge in Allāh*'.[101]

25. Support me, O You who Demand[102] and Prevail in Victory,[103] with the strengthening support of Your Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be the blessings and peace of Allāh, who was given the mighty and honoured rank of *We have sent you as witness, bearer of good tidings and warner, so that you [all] may have faith in Allāh*.[104]

٢٠ وَاَنْزِلْ اللّهُمَّ يَا لَطِيفُ يَا رَؤُوفُ بِقَلْبِي الايمَانَ وَالاطْمِينَانَ
وَالسَّكِينَةَ[26] لاَكُونَ مِنَ الَّذِينَ اَمَنُوا وَتَطْمَئِنُّ قُلُوبُهُمْ بِذِكْرِ اللّهِ

٢١ وَاَفْرِغْ عَلَيَّ يَا صَبُورُ يَا شَكُورُ صَبْرَ الَّذِينَ تَدَرَّعُوا[27] بِثَبَاتِ يَقِينِ
تَمْكِينِ كَمْ مِنْ فِئَةٍ قَلِيلَةٍ غَلَبَتْ فِئَةً كَثِيرَةً بِاِذْنِ اللّهِ

٢٢ وَاحْفَظْنِي يَا حَفِيظُ يَا وَكِيلُ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيَّ وَمِنْ خَلْفِي وَعَنْ يَمِينِي
وَعَنْ شِمَالِي وَمِنْ فَوْقِي وَمِنْ تَحْتِي بِوُجُودِ شُهُودِ جُنُودِ لَهُ مُعَقِّبَاتُ مِنْ
بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِ يَحْفَظُونَهُ مِنْ اَمْرِ اللّهِ

٢٣ وَثَبِّتِ اللّهُمَّ يَا قَائِمُ يَا دَائِمُ قَدَمَيَّ كَمَا ثَبَّتَّ القَائِلَ وَكَيْفَ اَخَافُ مَا
اَشْرَكْتُمْ وَلا تَخَافُونَ اَنَّكُمْ اَشْرَكْتُمْ بِاللّهِ

٢٤ وَانْصُرْنِي يَا نِعْمَ المَوْلَى وَيَا نِعْمَ النَّصِيرُ عَلَى الاَعْدَاءِ[28] نَصْرَ
الَّذِي قِيلَ لَهُ اَتَتَّخِذُنَا هُزُواً قَالَ اَعُوذُ بِاللّهِ

٢٥ وَاَيِّدْنِي يَا طَالِبُ يَا غَالِبُ بِتَأْيِيدِ نَبِيِّكَ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
المُؤَيَّدِ[29] بِتَعْزِيزِ تَوْقِيرِ اِنَّا اَرْسَلْنَاكَ شَاهِداً وَمُبَشِّراً وَنَذِيراً لِتُؤْمِنُوا بِاللّهِ

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26. B, F, K and M add والوَقارَ
27. C, H and M: تضرّعوا
28. F, G, H, I, J and M: اعدائي. D omits the phrase, but gives as alternative
29. B, C, D, F, G, H: المؤيِّدِ

26. Suffice me, O You who Suffice in every need,[105] who Restore [to Wholesomeness], [106] against [all] afflictions and ills, through the great benefit and lesson in *If We had sent down this Qur'an upon a mountain, you would have seen it humbled, reduced to rubble out of the fear of Allāh*.[107]

27. Confer upon me, O You who Bestow Blessings Freely, who Provide Nourishment and Sustenance, the arising, arriving and accepting of the arranging, making easy and rendering suitable for use [contained] in *Eat and drink of the provision of Allāh*.[108]

28. Enjoin on me, O You who are Wholly and Only One,[109] the Utterly Unique,[110] the [constant duty of the] word of Oneness, which You imposed upon Your beloved Muhammad, upon whom be the blessings and peace of Allāh, when You said *Know then that there is no god but Allāh*.[111]

29. Invest me, O You who are the Close Friend and Patron, the Supremely High, with Your close friendship, protective care and keeping, and flawless wholesomeness, through the utmost provision, favour and support of *That is of the grace of Allāh*.[112]

30. Give me, O You who are Rich beyond need, the Noble who respond in Generosity [to all requests], the honour of felicity, esteem, munificence and unconditional forgiveness, as You honoured *Those who lower their voices in the presence of the Messenger of Allāh*.[113]

٢٦ وَاكْفِنِي يَا كَافِي يَا شَافِي الاَدْوَاءَ وَالاَسْوَاءِ[30] بِعَوَائِدِ فَوَائِدِ لَوْ
اَنْزَلْنَا هَذَا القُرْآنَ عَلَى جَبَلٍ لَرَأَيْتَهُ خَاشِعاً مُتَصَدِّعاً مِنْ خَشْيَةِ اللّهِ

٢٧ وَامْنُنْ عَلَيَّ يَا وَهَّابُ يَا رَزَّاقُ بِحُصُولِ وُصُولِ قَبُولِ تَدْبِيرِ[31] تَيْسِيرِ
تَسْخِيرِ كُلُوا وَاشْرَبُوا مِنْ رِزْقِ اللّهِ

٢٨ وَاَلْزِمْنِي يَا وَاحِدُ يَا أَحَدُ كَلِمَةَ التَّوْحِيدِ[32] كَمَا اَلْزَمْتَ حَبِيبَكَ مُحَمَّداً
صَلَّى اللّهُ عَلَيهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَيْثُ قُلْتَ فَاعْلَمْ اَنَّهُ لاَ إِلهَ اِلاَّ اللّهِ [33]

٢٩ وَتَوَلَّنِي يَا وَلِيُّ يَا عَلِيُّ بِالوِلاَيَةِ وَالعِنَايَةِ وَالرِعَايَةِ[34] وَالسَّلاَمَةِ بِمَزِيدِ
اِيرَادِ اِسْعَادِ اِمْدَادِ[35] ذَلِكَ مِنْ فَضْلِ اللّهِ [36]

٣٠ وَاَكْرِمْنِي يَا غَنِيُّ يَا كَرِيمُ بِالسَّعَادَةِ وَالسِّيَادَةِ وَالكَرَامَةِ وَالمَغْفِرَةِ
كَمَا اَكْرَمْتَ الَّذِينَ يَغُضُّونَ اَصْوَاتَهُمْ عِنْدَ رَسُولِ اللّهِ

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30. Some give شرّ الاعداء instead of الادواء. Some split the pair of Names, giving in varying order: يا كافي الاسواء يا شافي الادواء
31. C, E, G, H, J and M omit word. B, D and L give it after تيسير
32. A, B, C, E, F, H and K give: التقوى
33. B, C, H, J and L omit verse ٢٨
34. Some omit this or the preceding word or change their order
35. C, D and J add ذلك خيرٌ
36. F and L give instead ذلك فضل الله (Q.57:21; 62:4)

31. Turn to me, O You who Turn constantly in Forgiveness, the Clement, with pardon and counsel, so that I may be of *Those who, when they commit an indecency or wrong themselves, remember Allāh and ask for forgiveness of their wrong-doings – and who forgives wrong-doings save Allāh?*[114]

32. Seal my days, O You who are the All-Compassionate, the Most Merciful, with the finest conclusion [of] those who are delivered and [those] who are full of hope: *O My servants who have transgressed against yourselves, do not despair of the mercy of Allāh.*[115]

33. Bring me to dwell, O You who are the All-Hearing, the Ever-Near,[116] in a Garden prepared for the god-fearing: *Their call therein is 'Glory to You, O Allāh', their greeting therein is 'Peace', and their call culminates in 'Praise belongs to Allāh'.*[117]

O Allāh, O Allāh, O Allāh, O Allāh!

O You who are Pure Beneficence,
O You who are Pure Beneficence,
O You who are Pure Beneficence,
O You who are Pure Beneficence!

O All-Compassionate One, O All-Compassionate One,
O All-Compassionate One, O All-Compassionate One!

O You who are Sheer Mercy, O You who are Sheer Mercy,
O You who are Sheer Mercy, O You who are Sheer Mercy!

٣١ وَتُبْ عَلَيَّ يَا تَوَّابُ يَا حَلِيمُ[37] تَوْبَةً نَصُوحاً لاَكُونَ مِنَ الَّذِينَ اِذَا
فَعَلُوا فَاحِشَةً اَوْ ظَلَمُوا اَنْفُسَهُمْ ذَكَرُوا اللّهَ فَاسْتَغْفَرُوا لِذُنُوبِهِمْ وَمَنْ
يَغْفِرُ الذُّنُوبَ اِلاَّ اللّهِ [38]

٣٢ وَاخْتِمْ لِي يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحِيمُ بِحُسْنِ خَاتِمَةِ النَّاجِينَ وَالرَّاجِينَ[39] يَا
عِبَادِيَ الَّذِينَ اَسْرَفُوا عَلَى اَنْفُسِهِمْ لا تَقْنَطُوا مِنْ رَحْمَةِ اللّهِ

٣٣ وَاَسْكِنِّي يَا سَمِيعُ يَا قَرِيبُ جَنَّةً[40] اُعِدَّتْ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ[41] دَعْوَاهُمْ فِيهَا
سُبْحَانَكَ اللّهُمَّ وَتَحِيَّتُهُمْ فِيهَا سَلاَمٌ وآخِرُ دَعْوَاهُمْ اَنِ الحَمْدُ لِلّهِ

يَا اللّهُ يَا اللّهُ يَا اللّهُ يَا اللّهُ

يَا نَافِعُ يَا نَافِعُ يَا نَافِعُ يَا نَافِعُ

يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحْمَانُ

يَا رَحِيمُ يَا رَحِيمُ يَا رَحِيمُ يَا رَحِيمُ [42]

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37. F, I and K give instead يا توّاب يا رحيم. G gives instead يا حكيم يا توّاب
38. H and J omit verse ٣١
39. H gives والراجين من انعطاف رحمة قل . I gives والراجين قل. A, B, E and K give والراجين الذين قِيلَ لَهم. C gives والراجين الذين قلتَ فيهم.
40. Some (including A, B, D and L) add عَدْنٍ
41. A, B, E, F, G, I, J, K and L add: الذين
42. The copies vary in the number of repetitions of these Names. The Names

I ask of You through the sacred sanctity of these Names, Verses and Words,[118] an authoritative strength that brings success,[119] a bountiful livelihood, a joyful heart, abundant knowledge, beneficent works, a luminous grave, an easy account [on the Day of Reckoning] and a goodly portion in Paradise. May Allāh bless our master Muhammad and his family and companions; may the peace of Allāh be upon them, a plentiful peace, until the Day of Resurrection. Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the worlds.

وَاَسْئَلُكَ[43] بِحُرْمَةِ هَذِهِ الاَسْمَاءِ وَالاَيَاتِ وَالكَلِمَاتِ [44]

سُلْطَاناً نَصِيراً وَرِزْقاً كَثِيراً[45] وَقَلْباً قَرِيراً

وَعِلْماً غَزِيراً[46] وَعَمَلاً بَرِيراً[47] وَقَبْراً مُنِيراً

وَحِسَاباً يَسِيراً وَمُلْكاً فِي الفِرْدَوْسِ كَبِيراً

وَصَلَّى اللّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وعَلَى اَلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ

وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيماً كَثِيراً

اِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ

وَالحَمْدُ لِلّهِ رَبِّ العَالَمِينَ [48]

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used also vary, with the occasional addition/substitution of e.g. رافـــع, دافـــع and نـــور. Alongside the one represented here, another common version is as follows: يا الله x 3 or 4; يا نافع يا رحمان يا رحيم x 1. At this point further text is added in K (al-Ḥiṣārī comments on fol.120a that he received this version through a chain connecting his shaykh to Ibn ʿArabī); it appears as an alternative in A and D. The version given here follows K with some amendments:

وَبِقُدْرَةِ بِسْمِ اللّه الرَّحْمانِ الرّحيمِ اِرْفَعْ قَدْري وَاشْرَحْ صَدْرِي وَيَسِّرْ اَمْري وَارْزُقْني مِنْ حَيْثُ لا اَحْتَسِبُ بِفَضْلِكَ وَإِحْسَانِكَ وَكَرَمِكَ. يَا هُوَ يَا هُوَ يَا هُوَ. كهيعص حم عسق. وَاَسْئَلُكَ بِجَمَالِ العِزَّةِ وَجَلالِ الهَيْبَةِ وَعِزِّ القُدْرَةِ وَجَبَرُوتِ العَظَمَةِ اَنْ تَجْعَلَنِي مِنْ عِبَادِكَ الصَّالِحِينَ الَّذِينَ لا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ ولا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ

43. E, J, K and L add اللهم
44. E and K add ان تجعل لي من لدنك
45. Some add or substitute يسيراً and/or واسعاً. Phrase missing in J
46. Phrase وعلماً غزيراً missing from G and H
47. Phrase وعملاً بريراً missing from F, G, H and J; given as alternative in M
48. Some copies give different expanded versions of the ṣalawāt

# al-Dawr al-aʿlā
# al-muqarrib ilā kulli maqām al-aʿlā

Bismi-llāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm

1. Allāhumma yā Ḥayy yā Qayyūm, bika taḥaṣṣantu fa-ḥminī bi-ḥimāyati kifāyati wiqāyati ḥaqīqati burhāni ḥirzi amāni *bismi-llāh*

2. wa-adkhilnī yā Awwal yā Ākhir, maknūna ghaybi sirri dā'irati kanzi *mā shā'a-llāh lā qūwata illā bi-llāh*

3. wa-asbil ʿalayya yā Ḥalīm yā Sattār, kanafa sitri ḥijābi ṣiyānati najāti *wa-ʿtaṣimū bi-ḥabli-llāh*

4. wa-bni yā Muḥīṭ yā Qādir ʿalayya sūra amāni iḥāṭati majdi surādiqi ʿizzi ʿaẓamati *dhālika khayrun; dhālika min āyāti-llāh*

5. wa-aʿidhnī yā Raqīb yā Mujīb, wa-ḥrusnī fī nafsī wa-dīnī wa-ahlī wa-waladī wa-dārī wa-mālī, bi-kalā'ati iʿādhati ighāthati *wa-laysa bi-ḍārrihim shay'an illā bi-idhni-llāh*

6. wa-qinī yā Māniʿ yā Dāfiʿ bi-asmā'ik wa-āyātik wa-kalimātik sharra-sh-shayṭāni wa-s-sulṭān, fa-in ẓālimun aw jabbār baghā ʿalayya akhadhathu *ghāshiyatun min ʿadhābi-llāh*

7. wa-najjinī yā Mudhill yā Muntaqim min ʿabīdika-ẓ-ẓalama al-bāghīn ʿalayya wa aʿwānihim, fa-in hamma lī minhum aḥadun bi-sū' khadhalahu-llāh *wa-khatama ʿalā samʿihi wa-qalbihi wa-jaʿala ʿalā baṣarihi ghishāwatan fa-man yahdīhi min baʿdi-llāh*

8. wa-kfinī yā Qābiḍ yā Qahhār khadīʿata makrihim, wa-rdudhum ʿannī madhmūmīn madhʾūmīn madḥūrīn bi-takhsīri taghyīri tadmīri *fa-mā kāna lahu min fi'atin yanṣurūnahu min dūni-llāh*

9. wa-adhiqnī yā Subbūḥ yā Quddūs ladhdhata munājāti *aqbil wa-lā takhaf; innaka mina-l-āminīna* fī kanafi-llāh

10. wa-adhiqhum yā Ḍārr yā Mumīt nakāla wabāli zawāli *fa-quṭiʿa dābiru-l-qawmi-lladhīna ẓalamū; wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh*

11. wa-āminnī yā Salām yā Mu'min ṣawlata jawlati dawlati-l-aʿdāʾi bi-ghāyati bidāyati āyati *lahumu-l-bushrā fi-l-ḥayāti-d-dunyā wa-fi-l-ākhira; lā tabdīla li-kalimāti-llāh*

12. wa-tawwijnī yā ʿAẓīm yā Muʿizz, bi-tāji kibriyāʾi jalāli sulṭāni malakūti ʿizzi ʿaẓamati *wa-lā yaḥzunka qawluhum; inna-l-ʿizzata li-llāh*

13. wa-albisnī yā Jalīl yā Kabīr, khilʿata ijlāli ikmāli iqbāli *fa-lammā ra'aynahu akbarnahu wa-qaṭṭaʿna aydiyahunna wa-qulna ḥāsha li-llāh*

14. wa-alqi yā ʿAzīz yā Wadūd ʿalayya maḥabbatan minka fa-tanqāda wa-takhḍaʿa lī bihā qulūbu ʿibādika bi-l-maḥabba wa-l-maʿazza wa-l-mawadda, min taʿṭīfi talṭīfi taʾlīfi *yuḥibbūnahum ka-ḥubbi-llāh; wa-lladhīna āmanū ashaddu ḥubban li-llāh*

15. wa-aẓhir ʿalayya yā Ẓāhir yā Bāṭin āthāra asrāri anwāri *yuḥibbuhum wa-yuḥibbūnahu adhillatin ʿala-l-muʾminīn aʿizzatin ʿala-l-kāfirīn yujāhidūna fī sabīli-llāh*

16. wa-wajjihi-llāhumma yā Ṣamad yā Nūr wajhī bi-ṣafāʾi jamāli unsi ishrāqi *fa-in ḥājjūka fa-qul aslamtu wajhī li-llāh*

17. wa-jammilnī yā Badīʿa-s-samāwāti wa-l-arḍ, yā Dha-l-Jalāli wa-l-Ikrām, bi-l-faṣāḥa wa-l-balāgha wa-l-barāʿa *wa-ḥlul ʿuqdatan min lisānī*, *yafqahū qawlī* bi-ra'fati raḥmati riqqati *thumma talīnu julūduhum wa-qulūbuhum ilā dhikri-llāh*

18. wa-qallidnī yā Shadīda-l-baṭsh yā Jabbār bi-sayfi-l-hayba wa-sh-shidda wa-l-qūwa wa-l-manaʿa, min ba'si jabarūti ʿizzati *wa-ma-n-naṣru illā min ʿindi-llāh*

19. wa-adim ʿalayya yā Bāsiṭ yā Fattāḥ, bahjata masarrat rabbi-shraḥ lī ṣadrī, wa-yassir lī amrī *bi-laṭā'ifi ʿawāṭifi a-lam nashraḥ laka ṣadrak wa-bi-ashā'iri bashā'iri wa-yawma'idhin yafraḥu-l-mu'minūna bi-naṣri-llāh*

20. wa-anzil allāhumma yā Laṭīf yā Ra'ūf bi-qalbī-l-īmān wa-l-iṭmīnān wa-s-sakīna, li-akūna mina-*lladhīna āmanū wa-taṭma'innu qulūbuhum bi-dhikri-llāh*

21. wa-afrigh ʿalayya yā Ṣabūr yā Shakūr ṣabra-lladhīna tadarraʿū bi-thabāti yaqīni tamkīni *kam min fi'atin qalīlatin ghalabat fi'atan kathīratan bi-idhni-llāh*

22. wa-ḥfaẓnī yā Ḥafīẓ yā Wakīl min bayni yadayya wa-min khalfī, wa-ʿan yamīnī wa-ʿan shimālī, wa-min fawqī wa-min taḥtī, bi-wujūdi shuhūdi junūdi *lahu muʿaqqibātun min bayni yadayhi wa min khalfihi*, *yaḥfaẓūnahu min amri-llāh*

23. wa-thabbiti-llāhumma yā Qā'im yā Dā'im qadamayya, kamā thabbatta-l-qā'il *wa-kayfa akhāfu mā ashraktum wa-lā takhāfūna annakum ashraktum bi-llāh*

24. wa-nṣurnī yā Niʿma-l-Mawlā wa-yā Niʿma-n-Naṣīr ʿala-l-aʿdā'i naṣra-lladhī qīla lahu *atattakhidhunā huzuwā; qāla aʿūdhu bi-llāh*

25. wa-ayyidnī yā Ṭālib yā Ghālib, bi-ta'yīdi nabīyika Muḥammad ṣalla-llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam, al-mu'ayyad bi-taʿzīzi tawqīri *innā arsalnāka shāhidan wa mubashshiran wa-nadhīrā*, *li-tu'minū bi-llāh*

26. wa-kfinī yā Kāfī yā Shāfī, al-adwā'a wa-l-aswā'a, bi-ʿawā'idi fawā'idi *law anzalnā hadha-l-qur'āna ʿalā jabalin la-ra'aytahu khāshiʿan mutaṣaddiʿan min khashyati-llāh*

27. wa-mnun ʿalayya yā Wahhāb yā Razzāq bi-ḥuṣūli wuṣūli qabūli tadbīri taysīri taskhīri *kulū wa-shrabū min rizqi-llāh*

28. wa-alzimnī yā Wāḥid yā Aḥad kalimata-t-tawḥīd kamā alzamta ḥabībaka Muḥammad ṣalla-llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam, ḥaythu qulta *fa-ʿlam annahu lā ilāha illa-llāh*

29. wa-tawallanī yā Walīy yā ʿAlīy bi-l-wilāya wa-l-ʿināya wa-r-riʿāya wa-s-salāma bi-mazīdi īrādi isʿādi imdādi *dhālika min faḍli-llāh*

30. wa-akrimnī yā Ghanīy yā Karīm bi-s-saʿāda wa-s-siyāda wa-l-karāma wa-l-maghfira kamā akramta-*lladhīna yaghuḍḍūna aṣwātahum ʿinda rasūli-llāh*

31. wa-tub ʿalayya yā Tawwāb yā Ḥalīm tawbatan naṣūḥā, li-akūna mina-*lladhīna idhā faʿalū fāḥishatan aw ẓalamū anfusahum dhakaru-llāh fa-staghfarū li-dhunūbihim wa-man yaghfiru-dh-dhunūba illa-llāh*

32. wa-khtim lī yā Raḥmān yā Raḥīm bi-ḥusni khātimati-n-nājīn wa-r-rājīn *yā ʿibādiya-lladhīna asrafū ʿalā anfusihim lā taqnaṭū min raḥmati-llāh*

33. wa-askinnī yā Samīʿ yā Qarīb jannatan uʿiddat li-l-muttaqīn, *daʿwāhum fīhā subḥānaka-llāhumma wa-taḥiyyatuhum fīhā salām*, *wa-ākhiru daʿwāhum ani-l-ḥamdu li-llāh*

yā Allāh, yā Allāh, yā Allāh, yā Allāh

yā Nāfiʿ, yā Nāfiʿ, yā Nāfiʿ, yā Nāfiʿ

yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān

yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm

wa-as'aluka bi-ḥurmati hādhihi-l-asmā' wa-l-āyāt wa-l-kalimāt
sulṭānan naṣīrā, wa-rizqan kathīrā, wa-qalban qarīrā,
wa-ʿilman ghazīrā, wa-ʿamalan barīrā, wa-qabran munīrā,
wa-ḥisāban yasīrā, wa-mulkan fi-l-firdawsi kabīrā,
wa-ṣalla-llāhu ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ʿalā ālihi
wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama taslīman kathīrā,
ilā yawmi-d-dīn, wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi-l-ʿālamīn

# Notes

**1**. The following discussion draws only on Arabic sources: further examples in Ottoman Turkish arise in Yazma Bağişlar 2934 and Haci Mahmud Efendi 3950, for example.

**2**. See F, fol. 144b. The signification of *wird* here is that of a specified time devoted regularly to such practice. The *wird* is thus often understood to comprise a set, supererogatory personal devotion observed at specific times, usually at least once during the day and once more at night. See 'Wird', p. 209.

**3**. See Haci Mahmud Efendi 4061, Esad Efendi 1442, Düğümlü Baba 506, I.

**4**. Beyazid 7880 recommends reading it three times in the morning. M recommends that it be read a little before the dawn prayer, D and F after it.

**5**. Nafiz Paşa 702: for a complete cycle, see for example fols. 4a–14b.

**6**. G, M, Arif-Murad 58, Şazeli 106, Genel 43, the latter added in a different hand.

**7**. For example, Esad Efendi 1442: the *Dawr* is added at the end of *K. al-Rashaḥāt al-anwarīya fī sharḥ al-awrād al-akbarīya*, itself on the margin of the *Awrād*.

**8**. The great majority of copies of the *Awrād* likewise appear without the prayer. To mention an early example, Veliyuddin 1833 encompasses (alongside the *Awrād*) *K. Mawāqiʿ al-nujūm*, *K. al-Isrāʾ* (copy dated AH 977, made in Damascus at the shrine of Ibn ʿArabī by Jibrīl b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ghazzī), extracts from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* and parts of the *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, plus a supplication for the Day of ʿArafa, from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*.

**9**. Beyazid 7880 recommends that *Ḥamīd Wahhāb* be recited 76 times before each reading of the prayer. M recommends beginning with the *ṣalawāt* and then repetition of *ya Ḥayy*, *ya Qayyūm* 174 times. Genel 43, fol. 29b details the following 'keys' to the prayer:

> O Allāh! O You in whose hand are the keys of the secrets of the unknowns, and the lamps of the lights of the hearts! I ask You through our master Muḥammad (may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him), to open for me the locked doors of these treasures, and to unveil for me the realities of these symbolic allusions. *Yā Hū yā man Hū* {7 times}. I ask You to bless the Sun of the gnostic sciences of Your Names, the Source of the secrets of Your light, who is the noble original Light-Tree and the radiant outpouring of the Origin, and the one who possesses the knowledges of the chosen (*al-ʿulūm al-iṣṭifāʾīya*), under whose banner the prophets march. [I ask you to bless him] by the number of those You have created and sustained, from whom You have taken life and to whom You have given life, until You resurrect those You have annihilated. *Yā Laṭīf* {129 times}, *al-ṣalāt wa'l-salām ʿalayka yā rasūl Allāh* {29 times}, *Allāhu laṭīf bi-ʿibādihi yarzuqu man yashāʾ wa huwa'l-Qawī al-ʿAzīz* {10 times}.

**10**. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4137 and Genel 43 recommend reciting *sūrat* al-Inshirāḥ and the *ṣalawāt* three times on completion. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4146 recommends reciting *Yā lā ilāha illā Allāh al-Rafīʿ jalālatan* 15 times. One copy on which our copy 'I' draws gives a special supplication at the end, the only one in our sources that encompasses specific mention of the prayer's author as saintly intercessor. The supplication proceeds thus (fol. 64a):

> O Allāh, by Your permission and grace grant that the spiritual reality (*rūḥānīya*) of the Muhammadan Heir, the shaykh and my master Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿArabī (may Allāh sanctify his secret) be of support to us, that it intercede and mediate for us with the Envoy of Allāh (may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him), and that it bring us glad tidings of the Compassionate Beatitude. Expand my chest, elevate my standing, and provide for me my sustenance without debit or credit, and be for us not against us, O You from Whom all help is sought. Amen. By Your Mercy, O Most Merciful of the Merciful.

**11**. An example of such introductory and concluding recommendations currently circulating in print in Damascus is that provided by Abū'l-Yusr ʿĀbidīn, referred to earlier.

**12**. See C, fols. 3b–5a.

**13**. The Arabic plurals *quranāʾ*, *tawābiʿ*, *marada* and *zawābiʿ* require clarification. Used in the Qur'an eight times, *qarīn* (pl. *quranāʾ*) denotes an inseparable or intimate companion, commonly referring to man's spirit companion. According to Q 4: 38, Satan can be a *qarīn* (he indeed follows men everywhere), and Q 43: 36 describes God assigning 'a satan' to man as a *qarīn* when he turns away from the remembrance of Him. See also Q 50: 27. The oldest exegetical tradition posits a *qarīn* at the side of every human in the form of a satan or jinn who tempts him to evil (even prophets have such a satan-companion, but the Prophet Muḥammad converted his own to Islam). At the same time, there is at his side an angel, who induces him to good. These figures should not be confused with the recording angels. See 'Qarin', EI², 4, pp. 643–644. There are several hadith references to the *quranāʾ*: see for example Muslim, 4, 260 and 50: 69 [after A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927)].

*Tābiʿa* (pl. *tawābiʿ*) refers to a jinn female, who loves a man and follows him everywhere: it does not appear in the Qur'an. *Mārid* (pl. *marada*) denotes someone who is insolent in rebellion: it is used in the Qur'an thus, and applied by extension to Satan (it is also a bad jinn's name). *Zawbaʿa* (pl. *zawābiʿ*) denotes a suddenly rising wind that whips up whirling sand or dust clouds, but also a terrible and malicious jinn believed to preside over such windstorms and hurricanes.

**14**. On the jinn in the Qur'anic worldview and in Muslim folklore, see *The Message of the Qur'an*, tr. and explained by Muhammad Asad (Bristol, UK, 2003), Appendix III; 'Djinn', EI², 2, pp. 546–549.

**15**. Suggested here are the kinds of property associated with al-Shādhilī's popular *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, which asks that the sea be 'subjugated' to those who are crossing it.

**16**. Associated with the evil eye, envy is recognised as a source of harm in Q 113: 5. The phrase *mā shā'a Allāh* (As God wills!) is used as protection against it: see Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 88.

**17**. A popular belief that the jinn could inflict various illnesses, especially those involving paralysis (such as hemiplegia) is noteworthy here. See 'Djinn', p. 548.

**18**. On the *shahāda* as the desired final utterance at the moment of death and the visitation and questioning of the two angels Munkar and Nakīr on the first night in the tomb (according to the hadith), see Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 132–133, 278–279, respectively.

**19**. *qarīn al-sū'*: literally 'the one who associates with evil' or 'the one for whom evil is an associate', Satan. According to Q 4: 38, 'the one for whom Satan is a companion; what an evil companion he has!'

**20**. This is a loose rendering of *umm al-ṣibyān*. Classical dictionaries suggest this may denote baby colic, or epilepsy. According to a hadith the Prophet said 'When a man has a newborn child and utters the *adhān* (the call to prayer) in his right ear and the *iqāma* (the second call) in his left ear, *umm al-ṣibyān* will not affect the child.' Cited by al-Ghazālī under 'Etiquette Concerning Having Children', in *Marriage and Sexuality in Islam: A Translation of al-Ghazali's Book on the Etiquette of Marriage from the Ihya'*, tr. Madelain Farah (Salt Lake City, UT, 1984), p. 114, including details of the hadith. Note finally the association of the root meaning of the word with the (sterile) east wind.

**21**. Literally the red wind: *al-rīḥ al-aḥmar*. The general association in this list of jinn (themselves fashioned out of 'the fire of scorching winds' according to Q 15: 27) with winds that cause ill health is noteworthy. For examples of the Prophet's prayers for protection from the evil of the wind, see A. H. Farid, *Prayers of Muhammad* (Lahore, 1999), p. 233.

**22**. *al-ʿuqūd*, literally knots; also compacts or bargains struck. Note also *ʿaqada nāṣiyatahu*: he tied his forelock in preparation to attack or do harm to someone, and Q 113: 4, where the 'blowing upon knots (*ʿuqad*)' denotes occult activities.

On the widespread persistence in Muslim societies of the belief in and practice of magic (and the role in it of the jinn, under the command of a practitioner), advice concerning how to protect oneself from its effects and attitudes towards it among various contemporary Muslim authorities, see for example Remke Kruk, 'Harry Potter in the Gulf: Contemporary Islam and the Occult', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32: 1 (2005), pp. 47–73; http://www.muttaqun.com/jinn.html and http://www.islamawareness.net/Jinn/. Texts of Qur'an and hadith of course affirm the reality of magic, but tend to refer to it in condemnatory terms (with some exceptions).

**23**. Literally: 'an army difficult to repel'.

**24**. On the notion of [spiritual] breaths in Ibn ʿArabī's thought, see William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-ʿArabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (Albany, NY, 1989), p. 402 n. 18. In the present context, the reference is possibly to 'the fragrances of nearness to God'. Chittick cites Ibn ʿArabī thus: 'When the Gnostics smell

the perfume of these breaths…they come to know a divine person who has the mystery which they are seeking and the knowledge which they want to acquire…'

**25**. To take an example from Damascus, al-Budayrī's chronicle of daily life in the city during a period of al-Dāmūnī's lifetime records floods, severe cold, earthquakes and windstorms (as well as swarming locusts, the spread of leprosy and devastating outbreaks of plague). See al-Budayrī, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-yawmīya*, pp. 52, 56–57, 223, 228, for example.

**26**. As Michael Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 33–34 points out in relation to the notion of *baraka*, according to the traditional Muslim view there is 'a whole complex of forces, thought in an ultimate sense to constitute as well as to govern the world. There are maleficent powers to be warded off by the saints, by amulets, talismans, verses of the Qur'an, the virtuous life, and trust in God. And where the balance turns against you there is the final radical explanation of the mystery of God's will.'

**27**. As Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 23, 25 points out, use of the term *ḥizb* evinces an 'unacknowledged tendency…towards semi-magical protection', while the term *ḥirz* (often used as synonymous with *ḥizb*) in the title of a prayer can indicate its use as a talisman or amulet. A *ḥizb* or *ḥirz* often comprises a selection of Qur'anic verses and small supplications printed in a tiny booklet which can be easily carried on the person: this may be referred to by a further synonym, *ḥijāb*. A very well-known example printed as a tiny booklet and frequently carried is *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām rabb al-ʿālamīn* ('The Impregnable Fortress from the Words of the Lord of the Worlds'), compiled by Shams al-Dīn M b. M al-Jazarī (d.833/1429): see below. Use of the term *taʿwīdh* (and other derivatives from the same root) to denote protective or 'refuge-taking' prayers, often worn as amulets, must finally be noted (these include the final two *sūra*s of the Qur'an, *al-muʿawwidhatān*). See further Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, ch. 6; 'Tilsam', EI[2], 10, pp. 500–502; 'Tamima', EI[2], 10, pp. 177–178. For examples of the Prophet's prayers in the formula of seeking refuge in God, see Farid, *Prayers of Muhammad*, pp. 245–249.

**28**. Indeed, as Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. xxii notes, some are simply strings of Qur'anic verses 'with more or less connection of subject', put together for devotional use.

For an introduction to perceptions concerning the power of the Word of God and prayer, and the general spheres of use to which sufi prayers have been put, see Carl Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston and London, 1997), pp. 89–91.

**29**. Compare with McGregor, *Sanctity and Sainthood*, pp. 35, 74.

**30**. Eight different prayers by al-Shādhilī appear in our sources, the most frequent being *Ḥizb al-baḥr* (which has been described as the most famous of all *aḥzāb*: see 'Hizb', p. 513) and *Ḥizb al-naṣr*. On *Ḥizb al-baḥr* see McGregor, *Sanctity and Sainthood*, pp. 34–35; on the use of *aḥzāb* attributed to al-Shādhilī in the contemporary Tunisian Shadhiliyya, see idem, 'A Sufi Legacy in Tunis', pp. 269–271.

**31**. Abū Madyan Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī (d.549/1198), a seminal figure of sufism in Muslim Spain and North Africa and profoundly influential on Shadhili and

Qadiri traditions: on him see *The Way of Abu Madyan: The Works of Abu Madyan Shuʿayb*, tr. and compiled by Vincent J. Cornell (Cambridge, 1996); EI², 1, pp. 137–138. Known fully as *Ḥirz al-aqṣām*, this is not included in Cornell's collection of Abū Madyan's works.

The juxtaposition of prayers associated with the Shadhili tradition (that of Ibn Mashīsh can also be mentioned in this context) with those of Ibn ʿArabī reflects the strong appreciation within this tradition for the legacy of Ibn ʿArabī. Perhaps also relevant in this regard is the appearance of *muqaṭṭaʿāt* in some versions of the prayer ending, as form a prominent feature of al-Mahdawī's *ṣalawāt* (see Pablo Beneito and Stephen Hirtenstein, 'The Prayer of Blessing [upon the Light of Muhammad] by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī', *JMIAS* XXXIV (2003), p. 28 n. 43 and p. 30 n. 47), and of *Ḥizb al-baḥr* (the latter encompassing the same letter clusters that appear in some of the *Dawr* endings).

**32**. For an example of the former, see L, fols. 133 onwards; for the latter, see Hasan Husnu Paşa 583 fol. 212b, where the prayer is followed by a supplication concerning plague reported from Abū Ḥanīfa. Şazeli 106 presents a particularly interesting range of *aḥzāb* and *aḥrāz* with many different uses, including soothing crying babies and meeting enemies, for example.

While individual prayers have been associated with specific spheres of protection there does not appear to have been a strict division among them, and copyists may have drawn on a common pool of properties. Thus the description of the *Dawr*'s properties in Düğümlü Baba 490, fols. 31b–32a, appears also in G, fols. 66a–67a, where it applies to Abū Madyan's *Ḥirz al-aqṣām*, which prayer is omitted from the former compilation (on the relationship between these two compilations see Appendix): the copyist simply replaces *ḥirz* with *Ḥizb al-wiqāya* throughout the description of properties. Note also in this regard the comprehensive scope of the properties attributed to *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*, set out in the preamble to it.

**33**. Particularly in D, but al-Dāmūnī also states his intention in his commentary to 'bring out some of the talismans and secrets' of the prayer (see C, fol. 3b), and provides some squares towards the end of his work. On talismanic 'magic squares', typically consisting of 9 or 16 compartments incorporating numbers or letters representing words (for example the letters of the Name Allāh written in a different order four times), see 'Tilsam', p. 501; 'Wafq', EI², 11, pp. 28–31.

**34**. For example Nafiz Paşa 702 adds on the margin of eight out of fourteen copies of the prayer presented a supplication that begins thus (towards the end of the prayer, for example fol. 25b) and ends with *sūrat* al-Ikhlāṣ (note that the same supplication is woven into the prayer before the end *ṣalawāt* in I):

> I establish my protection from all of His creatures in a fortress whose foundation is *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, whose wall is *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, whose key is *lā ḥawla wa lā qūwata illā bi'llāh al-ʿAlīy al-ʿAẓīm*…

M follows his recommendation concerning the prayer's recitation (see n. 9 above) with this supplication (fol. 109b):

This is a magnificent, blessed protective prayer. In the Name of God the Creator, the Greatest: a protection against what I fear and am wary of. There is no power for any creature before the Creator. *Kāf Hā' Yā' ʿAyn Ṣād. Ḥā' Mīm Sīn Qāf.* All faces submit to the Living, the Self-Subsisting [Q 2: 111]. May whoever perpetrates oppression fail. God is sufficient as Protector and He is the Most Excellent Trustee.

**35**. As McGregor, 'A Sufi Legacy in Tunis', p. 267 suggests, prayers perhaps acquire 'an added spiritual dimension' when recited: see also pp. 269–270.

**36**. D, p. 6. See also *The Ḥizbu-l Wiqāyah of Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabī*. Compare with Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 278–279.

**37**. See for example F, fol. 144b; D, p. 6; Düğümlü Baba 506, fol. 2a and I, fol. 62a.

**38**. Yazma Bağişlar 2934, fol. 39b. D, p. 6 points to its benefits for 'reaching the ranks of spiritual mastery' (*bulūgh marātib al-siyāda*).

**39**. See B fol. 2a; F, fol. 144b.

**40**. See K, fol. 51b; F, fol. 144b; D, p. 3.

**41**. Al-Ḥiṣārī indeed refers to the prayer as *al-Ḥizb al-qur'ānī*. See K, fol. 51b. It is noteworthy that some copyists mark Qur'anic verses in red (e.g. G), while others mark the Divine Names thus (e.g. I). A few add the numerical value of each Name close to it (e.g. Hasan Husnu Paşa 583, fols. 211b–212b).

The preamble to *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* furnishes an example of this intense focus on the power of Qur'anic verses and Divine Names, the former as a remedy (*shifā'*) and vehicle for mercy, the latter as a medium for supplication, in the context of a popular *ḥirz*.

**42**. Certain commentaries elaborate at length on the choice, location and significance of Divine Names in the prayer: their treatment must form the subject of a separate study.

**43**. See C, fols. 5a–b; B, fols. 3a, 4a; I, fol. 62a (the explanation in the latter is given on al-Qushāshī's authority). Qur'an 7: 180 and Muslim, *Dhikr*, no. 6, respectively, are cited.

**44**. C, fol. 5a. It is a fundamental principle of all prayerful supplication (*duʿā'*) for requests to be addressed to God through the evocation of His Names and Attributes, for His Essence is unknowable and unapproachable, and He cannot be understood in an affirmative way in respect of it: the particular Names and Attributes used thus define and shape the supplication. This pattern assumes a sophisticated expression in the *Dawr*, as illustrated below. See 'Duʿa'', EI$^2$, 2, p. 618; Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 104–107.

**45**. B, fol. 3b. He cites the similitude of someone who seeks the good offices of one of the ministers serving the most powerful king on earth in seeking the corpse of a dog or a donkey: the king will surely respond by throwing him out.

**46**. Note that al-Dāmūnī repeats in his preamble and concluding remarks the need for 'complete inner belief', reflecting a central principle elaborated in discussions of the conditions and rules (*adab*) of prayer (*duʿā'*), that contribute towards a

guarantee of efficacy: for it to be received by God, one must pray with a feeling of conviction that the prayer will be answered. See 'Duʿa'' p. 618. On the common emphasis of sincere intention in the preamble to prayers see also Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 52–54. This emphasis is well illustrated in the preamble to *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*.

**47.** B, fol. 2b; I, fol. 62a, for example.

**48.** See ibid. By way of further encouragement for its use without a guide, I and B cite the saying 'If you are not one of them, then emulate them, for there is success and salvation (*falāḥ*) in emulating the noble.'

**49.** Variants are denoted by the term *nuskha* (copy) in the margin.

**50.** Among others, examples of such inaccuracies arise in the following copies and verses of the *Dawr*: A verse 15, C verse 23, and H verse 7.

**51.** Given that four chains of transmission pass through Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, the apparent source of H, the question arose as to whether there might be consistency between H, B, C, D and F (and possibly also I, which apparently emanated from al-Qushāshī, from whom al-Kūrānī received the prayer). In the event the attempt to identify an al-Kūrānī (or any other) 'family' or 'version' of the prayer was not felt to be a fruitful approach (by way of illustration, we would cite the existence of differences even between H and H2: see Appendix).

**52.** Copyists can forget to distinguish the text of the prayer from that of the commentary (often done using red ink or a red over-line), or mark parts of the commentary thus as prayer text. Confusion can also arise when an unmarked word from the prayer text appears in a gloss on another word in it, or when the commentator's explanations require him to alter the constructions in which specific words or phrases appear, and the associated vowels. Examples arise in B, fols. 9a, 23b, 24b, 27b, 34a; C, fol. 76a; and D, p. 37.

**53.** This All-Comprehensive Name denotes 'not only the Essence of God but also the sum total of every attribute that the Essence assumes, in relationship to the creatures.' See Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 20. For an introduction to the Divine Names and Attributes in Ibn ʿArabī's thought see ibid., pp. 8–11; 33 ff.

**54.** We also comment in passing on similarities with the *Awrād*, but no systematic or thorough comparison is attempted. In addition, we point out examples of resonances with certain traditional prayers of the Prophet.

It should be noted that we do not attempt a detailed analysis of the content, structure, imagery and literary composition of the prayer, and the commentaries identified earlier are not applied to such an end. It is felt that the associations within each verse (between verbs used to express supplications, Names invoked, Qur'anic texts and word chains), and progressions within and between particular clusters of the prayer's verses, are best left to the reader's close contemplation.

**55.** Renderings of Qur'anic text, indicated in the translation in italics, are loosely based on A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (Oxford, 1991), which has been extensively adapted as appropriate. The numbering of verses used in Qur'anic references follows that in *The Holy Qur'an: Translation and Commentary* by A. Yusuf Ali (n.p., n.d.).

**56.** The traditional list according to a well-known version of a hadith transmitted by Abū Hurayra can be found in Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God*: *al-Maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*, tr. with notes by David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 49–51. Another version of this list, also given on the authority of Abū Hurayra, substitutes other Names for some of the ninety-nine in the first one: see pp. 167–169.

**57.** Some Names appear in neither version of the list but are noted as such in the Qur'an or derived from expressions associated with the Divine therein. See ibid., pp. 167–169.

**58.** Ibn ʿArabī, *K. Kashf al-maʿna ʿan asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*, ed. and tr. Pablo Beneito (Murcia, Spain, 1997): 2[nd] revised edn.

**59.** See ibid., p. 11. For elaboration, see Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, pp. 21–25 (on *takhalluq*) and pp. 48, 60 (on *taʿalluq*). The same terms were used by al-Mahdawī and apparently first expounded by Abū Madyan: see Beneito and Hirtenstein, 'The Prayer of Blessing [upon the Light of Muhammad] by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī', p. 30 n. 49.

**60.** There does not appear to be any direct correlation between the structure of the prayer as a whole and the inclusion (and order of inclusion) of particular prophets, however. It is also noteworthy that supplications by prophets in the Qur'anic text are used in the prayer in an indirect manner, as illustrated by verses 17 and 19, in contrast with such usage as arises in *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, for example: see McGregor, *Sanctity and Sainthood*, pp. 44–46.

**61.** On Ibn ʿArabī's projection of the true relationship between Divine Beauty and Majesty, and the human response to these, see his *K. al-Jalāl wa'l-jamāl*, tr. by R. T. Harris, *JMIAS* VIII (1989), pp. 5–8.

**62.** For this reason we do not use the translation 'God'.

**63.** Another example of the use of such word chains in the genitive case in a text attributed to Ibn ʿArabī arises in *Khuṭba ukhrā* [*Another Preface*] (Şehit Ali 1341, fols. 405b–406a, part of a collection of Ibn ʿArabī's works dated AH 724). Here we see, for example, *bi-wiṣāli ittiṣāli jamāli kamāli* and *iftitāḥi arwāḥi irtiyāḥi misbāḥi rawāḥi riyāḥi* and *idrāji ibrāji zujāji sirāji wahhāji*. The author thanks Stephen Hirtenstein for this information.

**64.** Every *sūra* of the Qur'an but one is prefaced by 'In the Name of Allāh, the All-Compassionate, the Most Merciful', and the *Dawr*, like all other all prayers, opens with it. Both this and a contraction of it ('In the Name of Allāh', referred to in shorthand as the *basmala*) permeate Muslim oral and written expression. On its application before action as a consecration, its quality as a word of power, and its popular use as an amulet (its description in this verse as a *ḥirz* is noteworthy), see Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 94 ff.

**65.** Q 18: 39, in full: 'Why did you not say, on entering your garden, "As God wills! There is no power save in God!", If you see me less than you in wealth and children.' Part of the parable of the two men, one of them boasting to the other that he has been given greater wealth and strength, declaring that he did not believe his

garden would ever perish, nor that the Resurrection would come to pass. On observing his attitude, his companion asked why he did not acknowledge God's generosity and power, for He may invert their fortunes, and ruin his garden, as indeed happened.

Like the *basmala*, the phrases *mā shā'a Allāh* and *lā qūwata illā bi'llāh* (and the expanded version of the latter *lā ḥawla wa lā qūwata illā bi'llāh*, referred to in shorthand as the *ḥawqala*) also permeate Muslim expression. Note that the *ḥawqala* is described as a treasure (*kanz*) also in the Sunday morning prayer in the *Awrād*, where it is also tied to the unknowable (*min khazā' in al-ghayb*): see Ibn ʿArabī, *Wird*, p. 7.

**66.** *Al-Sattār* is not one of the ninety-nine Names, but appears in supplications and devotional literature. For example, the Wednesday morning prayer in the *Awrād* encompasses *anta Sattār al-ʿuyūb* (You are the One who Veils shortcomings), and invokes God through this attribute (*yā Sattār*): see Ibn ʿArabī, *Wird*, p. 32.

**67.** Q 3: 103, in full: 'Hold fast to the bond of God, together, and do not scatter; remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by His blessing you became brothers. You were on the brink of a pit of Fire, and He delivered you from it; thus God makes clear to you His signs, so haply you will be guided.' The verse is addressed to those who have attained to faith.

**68.** The Name *al-Muḥīṭ* appears in the alternative version of the list of ninety-nine given on the authority of Abū Hurayra, and the expression *muḥīṭ* appears several times in the Qur'an in reference to the Divine, as in Q 2: 19, 3: 120, 8: 47, 41: 45, 85: 20, 4: 108, 4: 126 (e.g. 'God encompasses everything'; 'God encompasses the things they do').

**69.** Q 7: 26, in full: 'Children of Adam! We have sent down on you a garment to cover your nakedness, and as a thing of beauty; and the garment of godfearing (*libās al-taqwā*) – that is better; that is of the signs of God; haply they will remember.'

**70.** Q 58: 10, in full: 'Conspiring secretly together is of Satan, that the believers may sorrow; but he will not hurt them anything, except by the leave of God. And in God let the believers put all their trust.' Q 58: 9 urges the believers not to conspire secretly together in sin, enmity and disobedience to the Prophet, but in piety and godfearing.

The root *ʿawadha*, which signifies seeking God's protection or refuge, is of course always applied in relation to the seeking of protection against Satan, as in the formula *aʿūdhu bi'llāh min al-shayṭān al-rajīm*. On refuge-taking or protection seeking (*taʿawwudh*) in Muslim prayer, see Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, ch. 6.

**71.** *Al-Dāfiʿ* is not one of the ninety-nine Names, but is used in supplications and devotional literature (for example, *yā Dāfiʿ al-balā'*: O You who Repel misfortune). The Tuesday morning prayer in the *Awrād* encompasses *idfaʿ ʿannī kayd al-ḥāsidīn* ('Repel from me the deceitful plots of the envious!'), and the Wednesday morning prayer invokes God through this attribute (*yā Dāfiʿ*): see Ibn ʿArabī, *Wird*, pp. 25, 32, respectively.

**72.** Q 12: 107, in full: 'Do they feel secure that there shall come upon them no

enveloping of the chastisement of God, or that the Hour shall not come upon them suddenly when they are unaware?' Q 12: 106 provides the reference: 'And the most part of them believe not in God, but they associate other gods with Him.' *Ghāshiya* refers specifically to the Resurrection (which covers and encompasses all of mankind), or to Hellfire, which will overspread the faces of the unbelievers.

This verse of the prayer is the first of several in which an imprecatory aspect is expressed, through which the supplicant seeks harm for those who justly deserve it.

**73.** Q 45: 23, in full: 'Has thou seen him who has taken his caprice to be his god, and God has led him astray out of a knowledge, setting a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laying a cover on his seeing? Who then will guide him, after God? What, will you not remember?' Note that the part of this Qur'anic verse cited in the prayer forms the second part of a conditional clause (thus pointing to a hypothetical future): in the Qur'anic verse it describes something past.

**74.** Q 28: 81, in full: 'So, We made the earth to swallow him and his dwelling and there was no host to help him, apart from God, and he was helpless.' This refers to Qārūn, one of the people of Moses to whom God had given great treasures, but who became insolent towards his people and boastful. The prayer captures the significance of Qārūn's destruction both for the supplicant and for those who have mistreated him. (Qārūn is often identified with the Biblical Korah, but this has been called into question. See *The Message of the Qur'an*, p. 672 n. 84.)

Note the occurrence of the phrase 'driven away in blame and routed' (*madh'ūman madḥūran*) in Q 7: 18, addressed to Iblis on his expulsion from Paradise.

**75.** *Al-Subbūḥ* is not one of the ninety-nine Names. It appears twinned with *al-Quddūs* in the Wednesday evening prayer of the *Awrād*: see Ibn ʿArabī, *Wird*, p. 29; further Ibn ʿArabī, *The Seven Days of the Heart*, p. 87.

**76.** Q 28: 31, in full (beginning with a continuation of the divine address to Moses from within the burning bush): '"Cast down your staff!" And when he saw it quivering like a serpent, he turned round retreating, and did not turn back. "Moses, come forward and fear not; for surely you are among those who are secure."'

**77.** Q 6: 45. Truncated here, the Qur'anic verse continues: 'the Lord of the worlds'. It appears at the end of a series addressed to the Prophet, explaining how messengers were sent to communities before him, how they forgot what they had been reminded of, and how they were suddenly seized and confounded.

The pairing of verses 9 and 10 of the *Dawr* is noteworthy. In verse 9, the supplicant requests what is desirable and beneficial for himself; in verse 10, he seeks what is harmful for his enemies. Benefit bestowed by the Divine (through the Name *al-Nāfiʿ*) pivots on the provision of that which is enjoyable (*ladhdha*, mentioned in verse 9) according to Ibn ʿArabī, while the Names *al-Nāfiʿ* and *al-Ḍārr* are twinned opposites. See Ibn ʿArabī, *K. Kashf al-maʿna*, p. 178.

**78.** Q 10: 64, in full: 'For them are good tidings in the life of this world and in the hereafter. There is no changing the words of God; this is the mighty triumph.' Q 10: 62–63 provides the reference: 'Surely God's friends – no fear shall be on them neither shall they sorrow. Those who believe, and are godfearing – …'

**79**. Q 10: 65, in full: 'And do not let their saying grieve you. Indeed the honour and glory belong to Allāh altogether; He is The All-Hearing, The All-Knowing.' The Qur'anic verse is addressed to the Prophet Muhammad regarding his dealings with the polytheists.

**80**. Q 12: 31, in full: 'When she heard of their malicious talk, she sent to them and prepared for them a banquet and gave to each of them a knife. "Come forth and attend to them", she said. And when they saw him, they so admired him that they cut their hands, saying "May we be saved by God! This is no mortal; he is no other than a noble angel."' See earlier discussion for the Qur'anic context.

**81**. Q 2: 165, in full: 'Yet there be men who take to themselves compeers apart from God; they love them as if it were love for God; but those who believe are more ardent in love for God. O if the evildoers might see – when they see the chastisement – that power altogether belongs to God, and that God is terrible in chastisement.'

**82**. Q 5: 57, in full: 'O believers, whosoever of you turns from his religion, God will assuredly bring forth a people He loves, and who love Him; [they are] soft towards the believers, hard on the unbelievers, striving in the path of God, not fearing the reproach of any reproacher. That is God's bounty; He gives it unto whom He will; and God is All-embracing, All-knowing.'

**83**. Q 3: 20, in full: 'So if they dispute with you, say, "I have surrendered myself [my face] (*wajhī*) to God, and whosoever follows me!" And say to those who have been given the Book and to those who have not, "Have you surrendered [to Him]?" If they have surrendered, they are rightly guided; but if they turn their backs, your duty is but to deliver the Message. And God sees His servants.' (Note that *wajh*, literally 'face', denotes by extension one's will or self.) Q 3: 19 refers to disputes between the Prophet and the People of the Book: 'The true religion with God is Islam. Those who were given the Book were not at variance except after the knowledge came to them, being insolent one to another. And whosoever disbelieves in God's signs, God is swift at the reckoning.'

**84**. *Al-Badīʿ* (one of the ninety-nine Names) appears twice in the Qur'an as here (Q 6: 101 and 2: 117).

**85**. Q 20: 27–28. This is part of a supplication made by Moses in response to the divine instruction to go to the transgressing Pharaoh.

Note the resonance in this part of the prayer verse with a request that appears in a prayer taught by the Prophet to ʿAlī to help in memorising the Qur'an, thus: *Allāhumma badīʿ al-samāwāti wa'l-arḍ dhā'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrām…as'aluka bi-jalālika…an tuṭliqa bi-hi lisānī…* For the full text and details of the hadith, see Farid, *Prayers of Muhammad*, p. 227.

**86**. Q 39: 23, in full: 'God has sent down the most excellent discourse as a Book, consistent within in its oft-repeated [truths], at which shiver the skins of those who fear their Lord; then their skins and hearts soften to the remembrance of God. That is God's guidance, whereby He guides whomsoever He will; and whoever God leads astray has no guide.'

**87**. This is not one of the ninety-nine Names. Q 85: 12 gives 'Surely your Lord's assault is terrible (*inna baṭsha rabbika la-shadīd*)'. See also Q 44: 16.

**88**. Q 3: 126, in full: 'God ordained this but as a glad tiding to you, and that your hearts might thereby be at rest. There is no help to victory except from God, the All-Mighty; the All-Wise.' The Qur'anic context is the battle of Uhud; the immediate reference is to the reminder that God's help would be forthcoming, as it was at Badr (two clans among the Prophet's forces at Uhud had been on the point of losing heart and joining the deserters). See also Q 8: 10, referring to the battle of Badr.

**89**. Q 20: 25–26, part of a supplication uttered by Moses, on receiving the divine instruction to go to the transgressing Pharaoh, continued by the Qur'anic verses included in prayer verse 17: see n. 85 above.

**90**. Q 94: 1. The opening verse of *sūrat* al-Inshirāḥ, used in times of difficulty. Revealed very soon after Q 93 during the early years of his mission and a time of considerable trial for the Prophet, it reassures him of God's continuing help. The juxtaposition in the prayer verse of this Qur'anic verse with Q 20: 25, conveying Moses' request for the 'expansion of his breast', is noteworthy.

**91**. Q 30: 4–5, in full (including 3): 'The Byzantines have been vanquished in the nearer part of the lands; after their being vanquished, they will be victorious in a few years. To God belongs the Command before and after. That day the believers shall rejoice in the victorious help of God; He helps whomsoever He will, and He is the All-Mighty, the All-Compassionate.' 'That day' is understood to be a prediction of the battle of Badr which took place 8–9 years later, during which the Muslims would rejoice at their decisive victory over the unbelievers of Quraysh. (It refers also to the victories of Heraclius over the Persians: Badr coincided with a stage in these.)

**92**. This pair of Names appears (in reverse order) in the Wednesday morning prayer of the *Awrād*. See Ibn ʿArabī, *Wird*, p. 32.

**93**. On *iṭmīnān* and *sakīna*, the latter denoting both God-inspired peace of mind and the presence of God, see Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, pp. 122–125.

**94**. Q 13: 28. Truncated here, it ends: 'Surely in God's remembrance the hearts are at rest.'

**95**. Q 2: 249, uttered on the tongue of the small band of believers who went out with Saul (Ṭālūt) to meet Goliath (Jālūt) and his hosts, then routed them by the leave of God. In full: 'And when Saul set out with his forces he said "God will try you with a river; whoever drinks of it is not of me, and whoever does not taste it is of me (as are those who scoop just a mouthful)." But they drank of it, except a few of them. When he crossed it, together with those who believed along with him, they said "We have no power today against Goliath and his forces!" Yet those who were certain that they would meet God said "How often has a small unit overcome a sizeable one, by the permission of God! God is with those who are patient in adversity."' Note that Q 2: 250 continues with their supplication on meeting Goliath and his forces, thus: 'Our Lord! Pour out over us steadfastness, make firm our feet and give us aid against the people of the unbelievers.' The prayer verse 21 uses the same language and imagery as arises in their supplication (*afrigh ʿalaynā ṣabran wa thabbit aqdāmanā…*).

**96**. Q 13: 11, in full: 'He has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by the command of God. God changes not what is in a people, until they change what is in themselves. If God wills evil for a people, there is no turning it back. Apart from Him, they have no protector.' Q 13: 9–10 explains the encompassing of the unseen and the visible by the Divine Knowledge, with the following effect (achieved through the surrounding recording angels): 'Alike of you is he who conceals what he says and he who proclaims it, he who hides himself in the night, and he who sallies by day.'

Note the resonance in this prayer verse with a request that appears in a prayer attributed to the Prophet, which he reportedly recited every morning and night: *Al-lāhumma aḥfaẓnī min bayna yadayya wa min khalfī wa ʿan yamīnī wa ʿan shimālī wa min fawqī*… For details of the hadith see Farid, *Prayers of Muhammad*, pp. 150–151.

**97**. *Al-Qā'im* is not one of the ninety-nine Names but appears, for example, in Q 13: 33: 'What, He who stands over every soul for what it has earned? And yet they ascribe to Allāh associates (*a-fa-man huwa qā'im ʿalā kulli nafsin bi-mā kasabat wa jaʿalū li'llāhi shurakā'*)'.

**98**. *Al-Dā'im* appears in the alternative list of ninety-nine Names given on the authority of Abū Hurayra: see al-Ghazālī, *The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God*, p. 167.

**99**. Q 6: 81, in full: 'How should I fear what you have associated [with Him], when you do not fear [the fact] that you have established associates beside God, concerning which He has not sent down on you any authority? Which of the two parties has better title to security, if you have any knowledge?' This is on the tongue of Abraham, while he was disputing with his people concerning his repudiation of their polytheism.

**100**. These two Names appear thus together in Q 8: 40 (see also 22: 78); for further examples of references to God as the Protector of those who believe, see Q 47: 11 and 3: 150. They are not among the ninety-nine Names.

**101**. Q 2: 67, in full: 'And when Moses said to his people "God commands you to sacrifice a cow." They said, "Are you making fun of us?" He replied, "I take refuge in Allāh lest I should be one of the ignorant."' The context is the well-known exchange between Moses and his people, which culminated in their sacrificing the cow.

**102**. *Al-Ṭālib* is not one of the ninety-nine Names. It arises in the Wednesday morning prayer of the *Awrād* (*anta…al-Ṭālib wa'l-maṭlūb*) for example: see Ibn ʿArabī, *Wird*, p. 31. Cf. Q 58: 21.

**103**. *Al-Ghālib* is not one of the ninety-nine Names but is used in the Qur'an of the Divine in 12: 21, thus: 'Allāh prevails in His purpose, but most men know not' (*wa Allāh ghālib ʿalā amrihi wa lākin akthar al-nās lā yaʿ lamūn*). Cf. Q 58: 21.

**104**. Q 48: 8–9, in full: We have sent you as witness, bearer of good tidings and warner, so that you [all] may have faith in God and His Messenger, and succour Him and reverence Him, and that you may give Him glory dawn time and evening.'

**105**. *Al-Kāfī* appears in the alternative list of ninety-nine Names given on the authority of Abū Hurayra: see al-Ghazālī, *The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God*,

pp. 167. In the sense of sufficiency, the root verb appears of the Divine several times in the Qur'an in relation to His sufficiency as a Guardian (*wakīl*), a Reckoner (*ḥasīb*), a Helper (*naṣīr*), a Protector (*walī*), as One who knows (*ʿalīm*), and as a Witness (*shahīd*), for example. See for example Q 4: 81, 33: 39, 25: 31, 4: 45, 4: 70, 4: 166; also 33: 25.

**106**. *Al-Shāfī* is not one of the ninety-nine Names: the root is used in the Qur'an to characterise its own contents (e.g. Q 17: 82 and 41: 44); see also Q 10: 57; 9: 14.

**107**. Q 59: 21. Truncated here, the verse ends: 'And those similitudes – We strike them for men; haply they will reflect.'

**108**. Q 2: 60, in full: 'And when Moses sought water for his people We said, "Strike with your staff the rock", and there gushed forth from it twelve fountains; all the people knew now their drinking place. "Eat and drink of the provision of God, and do not make mischief in the earth, spreading corruption."' The part of this verse quoted in prayer verse 27 is on the tongue of Moses.

**109**. This Name, which appears in the traditional list of ninety-nine, is always twinned in the Qur'an with *al-Qahhār*. See Q 40: 16, 39: 4, 38: 65, for example.

**110**. *Al-Aḥad* appears in the alternative list of ninety-nine Names given on the authority of Abū Hurayra: see al-Ghazālī, *The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God*, p. 167. (See also Q 112: 1: 'Say: "He is Allāh, One."')

**111**. Q 47: 19, in full: 'Know then that there is no god but God, and ask forgiveness for your sin, and for the believers, men and women. And God knows your comings and goings and your lodging.' The word of Oneness (*kalimat al-tawḥīd*) is shorthand for the first part of the *shahāda*.

**112**. Q 12: 38, in full thus: 'And I have followed the creed of my forefathers Abraham, Isaac (Isḥāq) and Jacob (Yaʿqūb). Not ours is it to associate others with God. That is of the grace of God to us, and to all mankind; but most men are not thankful.' This is on the tongue of Joseph, in the context of a discussion of their dreams with his fellow prisoners: he had been imprisoned following his refusal to bow to the demands of his employer's wife.

Note that the three terms in the phrase *bi'l-wilāya wa'l-ʿināya wa'l-riʿāya* appear together also in the Sunday morning prayer of the *Awrād*, thus: *bi-ʿayn al-raḥma wa'l-ʿināya wa'l-ḥifẓ wa'l-riʿāya wa'l-ikhtiṣāṣ wa'l-wilāya*. See Ibn ʿArabī, *Wird*, p. 9.

**113**. Q 49: 3, in full: 'Surely those who lower their voices in the presence of the Messenger of God, those are they whose hearts God has tested for godfearing; they shall have forgiveness and a mighty wage.' The verse appears in a sequence advising the believers how they should behave in the presence of the Prophet and towards each other.

**114**. Q 3: 135. Truncated here, after a pause the Qur'anic verse ends: 'and who do not knowingly persist in the things they did.' This verse appears in a sequence describing the righteous, whose reward will be Paradise. Note that the Qur'anic verse begins with 'And', which is omitted in prayer verse 31.

**115**. Q 39: 53, in full: 'Say! "O My servants who have transgressed against yourselves: do not despair of the mercy of God. Surely God forgives sins altogether; Surely He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Compassionate."'

**116**. *Al-Qarīb* appears in the alternative list of ninety-nine Names given on the authority of Abū Hurayra (see al-Ghazālī, *The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God*, p. 167), and is used of the Divine in Q 2: 186, 11: 61 and 34: 50 (in the final case, in the pair here: *Samīʿ Qarīb*).

**117**. Q 10: 10. Truncated here, it ends: 'Lord of the worlds.' Q 10: 9 provides the reference: 'Surely those who believe, and do righteous deeds, their Lord will guide them for their belief; beneath them rivers flowing in gardens of bliss.'

'A Garden prepared for the god-fearing' is a contraction of a description appearing in Q 3: 133: 'And vie with one another, hastening to forgiveness from your Lord, and to a Garden whose breadth is as the heavens and the earth, prepared for the god-fearing.'

**118**. Perfect and complete, the power of the Word of God is repeatedly acknowledged in prayer and invocation (see for example 'Tamima', p. 177; Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 86). The Prophet is reported to have said that whoever recites the formula *aʿūdhu bi-kalimāt Allāh al-tāmmāt min sharri mā khalaq* in the morning and the evening will never come to harm: for details of the hadith see Farid, *Prayers of Muhammad*, p. 150. Ibn ʿArabī advised use of this formula (incorporating the word *kullihā* after *kalimāt Allāh al-tāmmāt*) by the traveller alighting for rest during the night, to protect his night-camp from harm: see Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* (Beirut, n.d.), IV, p. 505.

**119**. *Sulṭān naṣīr* arises as the object of a request in Q 17: 80 (which furnishes a much-used supplication), thus: 'And say: "My Lord, lead me in with a sincere ingoing, and lead me out with a sincere outgoing; grant me from You an authoritative strength that brings success."'

# Appendix

## Manuscript copies and chains of transmission

Copies A–I used in presenting the Arabic text are detailed below. With respect to chains of transmission, the lengthy epithets attached to figures are omitted unless they are of specific help for the purposes of identification: titles and positions are retained. Of these chains, to our best knowledge only **D** and **G** have been printed.

### A. Haci Mahmud Efendi 3950

Al-Jundī commentary (in Ottoman Turkish) dated **AH 1280**: 52 fols., some vowels. Al-Jundī claims that this chain (fols. 50b–51a) encompasses the *Dawr* and 'all of Ibn ʿArabī's other *awrād* and writings'. He provides an *ijāza* in the *Dawr* and the *ṣalawāt* of Ibn ʿArabī to ʿAbd al-Nāfiʿ Efendi.

Jundī Zāde Muḥammad Amīn al-ʿAbbās, Mufti of Damascus ~ his father Muḥammad Efendi al-Jundī ~ ʿUmar al-Bāqī ~ Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṣiddīqī ~ his father Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī ~ ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī ~ Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ al-qāḍī Zakarīya al-Anṣārī ~ ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī ~ Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tanūkhī ~ Qāsim b. ʿAskar (sic) ~ Ibn ʿArabī

### B. Düğümlü Baba 506

Al-Tāfilātī commentary (in Arabic) copy dated **AH 1251** (Medina): 30 fols., with some vowels. Al-Tāfilātī claims that this chain (fol. 3a) encompasses the *Dawr* and 'all of Ibn ʿArabī's writings'. He adds that he has chains of authorities other than this one, but does not specify them.

Muḥammad al-Tāfilātī al-Khalwatī, Mufti of Jerusalem ~ his teacher Muṣṭafā al-Kubrā (sic) al-Khalwatī and his shaykh Muḥammad

b. Sālim al-Ḥanafī (sic) al-Miṣrī; the latter two ~ their shaykh Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī ~ his shaykh Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī al-Madanī ~ his shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī al-Dajānī al-Madanī, via his chain to Ibn ʿArabī

### C. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4212

Al-Dāmūnī commentary (in Arabic) **undated**: 83 fols., no vowels. Chain appears fol. 3a.

Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Dāmūnī ~ his teacher Maḥmūd al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī ~ Muḥammad b. al-shaykh al-Sālim al-Ḥafnāwī (sic) ~ Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī ~ Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī al-Madanī ~ Aḥmad al-Qushāshī al-Dajānī, via his chain to Ibn ʿArabī

### D. Al-Qāwuqjī commentary

Printed version in Arabic (Damascus, **AH 1301**), copy of Haci Mahmud Efendi 4213: 160 pp., with few vowels, ending in a commentary on the *ṣalawāt* of Ibn ʿArabī (pp. 106 ff.). Al-Qāwuqjī explains that he transmits the *Dawr* 'like Ibn ʿArabī's other resplendent works' through this chain (pp. 3–4).

Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Qāwuqjī al-Ṭarābulusī ~ Yāsīn b. al-quṭb ʿAbdallāh al-Mīrghanī al-Makkī ~ Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul ~ his father Muḥammad Saʿīd Sunbul ~ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Kurdī ~ his father Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī al-Kurdī ~ Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī ~ Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ṭabarī ~ his father ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ~ his grandfather Yaḥyā al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī ~ al-ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-ḥāfiẓ ʿUmar b. Fahd ~ his father ~ al-Jamāl Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Murshidī ~ Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān al-Shināwizī ~ Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī ~ Ibn ʿArabī

### E. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4053

Copy of prayer alone, **undated**: 5 fols. with full vowels. Chain (fol. 5a) added in a different hand, viz. that of ʿAlī Efendi, granting an *ijāza* to read the *Dawr* to Aḥmad Muẓaffar b. Muṣṭafā Masʿūd.

ʿAlī Efendi b. Sulaymān b. al-shaykh Muṣṭafā b. al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm (may be crossed out) ʿUmar, teacher in Dār al-ʿAlīya ~

ʿAbdallāh Ṣidqī al-Diyarbakrī, also called al-Qirmānī {or, ʿAbdallāh Ṣidqī ~ al-Diyarbakrī, also called al-Qirmānī} ~ his brother Muḥammad Zanqī{?} ~ Ismāʿīl Īdanjakī in Medina (*al-mujāwir fī*) ~ Ibrāhīm the grandson {of} ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī ~ his grandfather ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī ~ his shaykh Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ his father Badr al-Ghazzī ~ al-ḥifẓ al-Suyūṭī ~ al-Shams Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī ~ Abū Ṭalḥa al-Ḥarāwī al-Zāhidī (sic) ~ al-Sharaf al-Dimyāṭī ~ Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh al-Akbar ~ his father Ibn ʿArabī

**F. Reşid Efendi 1051**

Personal compilation of prayers, *ṣalawāt*, Qur'anic verses, supplications, poems (including Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's famous *Bānat Suʿād*), an alphabetical list of the names of the Companions who fought at Badr (compiled apparently at the request of a ruler), fragments from al-Buṣayrī and al-Suyūṭī, a *ḥizb* by Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, a list of the Prophet's names, his wives and a summary of the signs of the Mahdi drawn from the hadith. The hand throughout is apparently that of Muḥammad Musawwid Zāde al-Ṭarabzūnī. No vowels, 160 fols. Note that fol. 144a carries the date **AH 1169** (the *Dawr* begins on fol. 144b). (The earliest date in the compilation is 1159; the latest is 1171.) The chain appears on fol. 145a.

Muḥammad al-shahīr bi-Musawwid Zāde al-Ṭarabzūnī ~ Ibrāhīm ~ Khayr al-Dīn ~ Muḥammad al-mashhūr bi-Kāmil Zāde al-Ṭarabzūnī ~ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mawṣilī ~ his shaykh Fatḥ Allāh al-Mawṣilī ~ his shaykh Khalīl al-Baghdādī al-ṣūfī ~ Ibrāhīm al-Madanī al-ṣūfī ~ Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ṣūfī ~ his shaykh Abū'l-Mawāhib Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-ʿAbbāsī al-Shinnāwī then al-Madanī al-ṣūfī ~ his father ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs ~ his shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Shaʿrāwī al-ṣūfī ~ his shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad al-qāḍī al-faqīh al-ṣūfī ~ Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. al-Qaymānī{?} al-Marāghī al-ṣūfī ~ his shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Hāshimī al-ʿUqaylī al-Jabartī al-Zabīdī al-ṣūfī ~ Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Wānī al-ṣūfī ~ Ibn ʿArabī

**G. Laleli 1520**

Beautiful gold-embellished compilation in a single hand of prayers attributed to Ibn ʿArabī (the *Awrād*, *Dawr al-aʿlā*, *Ḥizb al-aḥadīya*, *Tawajjuh waqt al-saḥar*, *Taḥsīn*) followed by a prayer attributed to Abū Madyan and a list of the names and dates of death of the rightly guided caliphs and the imams of the main four Sunni *fiqh madhāhib*: 70 fols., dated **AH 1164** (f. 67b). The introduction gives an 'open' *ijāza* (to anyone wishing to read the texts in question) and a chain which appear to be associated with the entire contents of the compilation of '*awrād* and *adhkār*'. (See manuscript frontispiece; Beneito and Hirtenstein, *The Seven Days of the Heart*, pp. 174–175, giving a translation and discussion of this *ijāza* and chain. We give the chain below for the sake of completeness). The *Dawr* text (fols. 31a–36a) is very clear and has full vowels. (Note that, sometimes omitting some of the smaller texts, Düğümlü Baba 490 and 489 and Haci Mahmud Efendi 4179, the last used by Beneito and Hirtenstein, all printed facsimiles, are versions of Laleli 1520, retaining the *ijāza* and chain.)

Muḥammad al-Madanī b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Baṣrī ~ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Yamanī ~ ʿAbd al-Shakūr al-Muʿammar ~ Shāh Masʿūd al-Iṣfarāʾīnī al-Muʿammar ~ ʿAlī al-Qūnawī ~ Ibn ʿArabī

**H. Hamidiye 1440**

Compilation in a single hand of works by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī: *Majmūʿat rasāʾil*, including *Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf ʿalā mashrab ahl al-kashf wa'l-shuhūd al-qāʾilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd*,[1] 200 fols., addressing theological issues relating to the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Contents recorded from AH 1086 to 1094 in al-Kūrānī's presence in Medina by a disciple, several of them in al-Kūrānī's home on the outskirts of Medina[2] and one at the rear of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf al-Nabawī (the Prophet's Noble Sanctuary) there.[3] The *Dawr* (fols. 31b–32b) is the only prayer in this collection and the only text not by al-Kūrānī. It has few vowels. Note that the copy of the text ending on fol. 31a is dated **AH 1089** (and made at al-Kūrānī's house on the outskirts of Medina), which is likely also to

be the date of the *Dawr* copy, which it can be presumed was recorded from al-Kūrānī alongside his own works.

It is noteworthy that **Ragib Paşa 1464** (193 fols.) is a second compilation of the same overall title as H, in a different hand from the latter: there is no evidence in this case that the scribe was al-Kūrānī's disciple. It seems that al-Kūrānī requested that a second copy of H (which we can call H2) be made after that compilation had been completed in 1094. Some texts thus give the same details of time/place as texts in H. Others then add a 'final copy' date some five or six years later. The *Dawr* (fols. 31a–32 b)[4] follows on the same page on the end of a text by al-Kūrānī concerning which it is recorded that the rough copy was made from al-Kūrānī in his house on the outskirts of Medina in **AH 1089** and the final one copied out in his house adjacent to Bāb al-Raḥma of the Prophet's Mosque in **AH 1094**.[5] The *Dawr* is followed (fol. 32b) by a verse from al-Shāfiʿī, an anonymous supplication and an untitled and un-attributed portion of Ibn ʿArabī's Tuesday morning *wird*.

### I. Pertev Paşa 644

Compilation in a single hand of works by or attributed to Ibn ʿArabī (*K. al-Hū*, *K. al-Ḥaqq*, *K. al-Jalāla*, *K. al-Bā'*, *K. al-Naṣā'iḥ*, *R. al-Anwār*) plus various other texts, including a fragment from al-Sulamī and a prayer by Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. The *Dawr* (fols. 62b–64a) is prefaced by a discussion of its properties. **Undated**, but the preface suggests that this version was received from al-Qushāshī.

### J. Murad Buhari 320

Personal compilation of prayers, talismans, poems, etc. dated **AH 1203** (fol. 127a) in the hand of, and signed by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥādī. The *Dawr* (fols. 60b–63a) is without vowels.

### K. Izmirli Hakki 3635

Compilation in a single hand of prayers (including *al-Ṣalāt al-kubrā* attributed to Ibn ʿArabī and prayers by al-Shādhilī) and accompanying commentaries, 160 fols. Commentary on the *Dawr* by Ḥusayn

b. Ismāʿīl b. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥiṣārī (fols. 51b–120b, the text of the prayer repeated fols. 121b–125b), entitled *Kashf al-kurūb wa fatḥ jamīʿ al-abwāb wa kashf al-lughūb*. Copy dated **AH 1282** (fol. 125b), but the preamble has the author report that he wrote the commentary in **AH 1205** (fol. 51b). (Copy A 3470 [University of Istanbul Library] is incomplete and undated.)

**L. Esad Efendi 415**

Collection in a single hand of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic religious texts and prayers (including the *ḥirz* of Abū Madyan), 161 fols. The *Dawr* (fols. 158b–161a) has some vowels and is dated **AH 1220**.

**M. Reşid Efendi 501**

Compilation in a single hand of prayers by Ibn ʿArabī (*Ḥizb al-ʿārif bi'llāh*, *Duʿā' asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*, *Ḥizb al-nūr*, the *Awrād*, *Ṣalawāt sharīfa*) and others (including those by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Shādhilī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, al-Shāfiʿī and Imām ʿAlī), as well as anonymous supplications and protective prayers, all in one hand, 126 fols. Possibly dates to the lifetime of al-Nābulusī, i.e. **before AH 1143**, as the copyist, possibly his disciple, refers to him twice in terms that suggest he was still alive (e.g. fol. 94a). The *Dawr* (fols. 109b–111b) has full vowels and plentiful marginal alternatives.

Alongside these copies, particular attention was paid in producing the text to two copies with full vowels: Nafiz Paşa 702 and Ankara Milli 489.

In addition to those referred to throughout our text and notes, the following copies were also consulted: Izmirli Hakki 1516 (undated), Esad Efendi 1405 (undated), Ulu Cami 936 (dated AH 1194), Esad Efendi 3430 (undated).

# *Notes*

**1**. Knysh, 'Ibrahim al-Kurani', p. 41 n. 10 refers to a copy of the same title in what may be a comparable collection: *Majmūʿa*, Yahuda Collection, #3869.

**2**. For example fols. 29a, 30a–b, 34b. Texts here end with comments such as the following (fol. 29a): 'Our shaykh the author, may God cause us to benefit from him, said: "The rough copy was completed at noontime on Tuesday 11th Ṣafar 1086, in my home in the outskirts of al-Madīna al-Munawwara: the best prayer and blessing be upon the most excellent of its inhabitants…"'

**3**. See fol. 46a, dated 1088: his disciple (the scribe) here asks God to keep al-Kūrānī safe, to preserve him and give him strong health.

**4**. The text of the *Dawr* in H2, which has many vowels, is identical to H with the exception that the scribe fails to incorporate four marginal additions, on one occasion adds his own insertion in the margin (*sirr* after *majd* in verse 4), and chooses *yahdīhi* in verse 7 (given in the margin in H) over the erroneous *yahdī* (given in the text in H). These differences do not merit its separate inclusion in preparing our text, but they do serve to point up the extent to which copyists and scribes have felt justified in showcasing a 'personal' version of the prayer.

**5**. For example, fol. 31a has: 'The author, may God cause us to benefit from him, said: "The rough copy was completed before noon on Thursday 30th Muḥarram at the beginning of 1089 in my house on the outskirts of al-Madīna al-Munawwara… the final copy (lit. its copying out and embellishment) was completed on the afternoon of Saturday the 22nd of Rajab 1094 in my house adjacent to Bāb al-Raḥma of the Prophet's Mosque."' Similar examples arise in fols. 30a and 26a.

Note that the latter part of this compilation encompasses two additional texts by al-Kūrānī (one of them recorded in 1084 and another after his death) and two by al-Ghazālī. From f. 95a (encompassing one of the additional al-Kūrānī texts) it is in a second hand.

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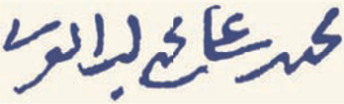
# Index

*'Whoever recites this prayer will be like the sun
and the moon among the stars'*

This is the first study of a widely used and much-loved prayer by Ibn ʿArabī. The *Dawr al-aʿlā* ('The Most Elevated Cycle'), also known as the *Ḥizb al-wiqāya* ('The Prayer of Protection'), is a prayer of remarkable power and beauty. It is said that whoever reads it with sincerity of heart and utter conviction, while making a specific plea, will have their wish granted.

This precious book provides a definitive edition of the Arabic text, a lucid translation and a transliteration for those unable to read Arabic. In addition, there is an illuminating analysis of the transmission and use of the prayer across the centuries. Of particular interest are the major figures in Islamic scholarship and mysticism who have been associated with it, and perceptions of its properties.

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